796 mitting it to drop to the ground. If a player at last allows it to fall, it is not picked
624 up, but Rąrą'k throws a new one into the ring until all the shuttlecocks are forfeited.

After midnight the men of both rainy season moieties assemble by two fires in
243 the plaza, whither a man named Kái brings them a bundle of unfeathered arrows
[616] with balls of maize husk covering their points (pl. 16, *a*). The players step up in
pairs (so as to represent in each case both moieties) and try to hit each other with
the arrows, which they throw with their hands.

241 In 1929, during my first visit, when I had not yet come to understand anything
123 of the ceremonial, I had the following experience. An Indian wishing to show me
a special favor had some sweet potatoes brought from the plantation for my delec-
623 tation before the harvest time had been officially announced. In my innocence I eulogized the generous donor before the elders in the plaza, but at once noted the silent, but significant glances passed among them. The donor was thus placed in an ambiguous position and incurred censure, though in deference to me this was not carried too far. However, the culprit was obliged to hurry to the plaza with a bowlful of baked sweet potatoes for the elders, who consumed them and declared the crop ready for harvesting. Similarly I observed that they received two watermelons when the harvest for these fruits was opened.

527 Another ceremony, hõčwa (= pointed leaf, i.e., sweet potato), is devoted to the
244 sweet potatoes. It always takes place when these plants produce their vines, imme-
575 diately preceding the ceremony just described of opening the maize harvest. The performers, numbering some twenty, are organized like the festive organizations, but their activities are confined to this single annual appearance at the hõčwa. As in these other societies, membership is inherited matrilineally with the personal name. The lodge is situated on the north side of the eastern half of the village circle. Like the other societies, this, too, has a leader, the hõčwakédeti (grandfather of the hõčwa). He wears hanging down the nape of his neck from a neck cord a feather from the tail of a red arara. The present incumbent is the chief Hąktokót, but the title hõčwa itself belongs to the bearer of the name Rąrą'k, who in this capacity wears falcon down on his body and has a little whistle of Mataco type.[108] The participants also include a precentor and two girl auxiliaries.

[302] The members paint the entire body with white clay, and their faces are marked with two obtuse-angled parallel lines traced with the finger tips with the same pigment. The apex of one of these angles is on the forehead, while its sides extend over the temples; the point of the other angle is on the tip of the nose and its sides are drawn across the cheeks.

The hõčwa actor proper is decorated at sunset. At nightfall a big fire is kindled in the plaza, where the precentor remains waiting. Finally the hõčwa leaves his maternal home and walks to the plaza, where the precentor begins singing to the accompaniment of a rattle, while the hõčwa, with his pinčwę'ipey behind him, sounds his whistle. Thereupon the hõčwakédeti steps out of his maternal house, dances toward the plaza, but immediately returns in order to bring with him the entire membership, who now dance in the plaza with outstretched arms.

Toward midnight all the women and girls come out of their houses and range themselves in groups at the opening of the radial paths leading from their maternal homes to the plaza. The hõčwa march round the plaza from group to group, singing before each of them.

The object of this ceremony is to ensure for each extended family an adequate supply of sweet potatoes, corresponding to the number of its female members.

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[108] Izikowitz, Musical Instruments, 333.

224 killed, but sought only for lack of all other game. Because of its[1] reputed destruction of snakes the people like to keep it tame in the village. Though I have never observed [231] these birds at this, a tame specimen once gave me a demonstration of its procedure when mistaking my leather belt, which had accidentally dropped, for a snake. Furiously pouncing on the strap, the sariema seized the buckle with its bill, swung it in the air, and lashed it two or three times against the ground in a manner that would inevitably have cracked a snake's spine. Only then did the attacker recognize its error and let the belt alone. 223 Falcons are killed in large numbers when the steppe grass is burnt in June and these birds immediately foregather in order to hunt the startled grasshoppers, lizards, and other small species. Falcons are sought both for their flesh and their downy feathers, which play a great part in Eastern Timbira ceremonial.

224 Snakes are killed with any handy stick, except that a sucurijú, which has the thickness of a human thigh, requires a sizable club.

483 Game of agouti size, or larger, is carried home in a palm-leaf basket plaited *ad hoc*. First the hunter plaits the back of the container, deposits the animal on it, and then interlaces the leaflets over it. The tip of a monkey's tail is pulled through its lower jaw and the game is then hung over's one shoulder. A man will tie together a deer's feet, put his head through the ring thus formed, and carry his kill home on his back.

462 The Rąmkō'kamekra, too, as noted by Snethlage,[illegible] drags large game no farther than the village boundary, whence his wife carries it home.

224 581 In general the Timbira are still skillful at hunting, exhibiting marked ability to interpret footprints and great perseverance in pursuing wounded animals. A good hunter is prized all the more nowadays because lack of game renders the chase progressively less productive. He is a much coveted husband: I once overheard a Rąmkō'kamekra reproving his infatuated niece as follows, "You want to marry *him!* What sort of game has *he* ever shot!"

224 527 561 Collective hunting accompanies the festivals, especially the period preceding the terminal celebration, which always requires a large quantity of meat pies. Since this closing ceremony is determined by the council when the duration of the festival is deemed sufficient, this decision likewise involves the signal for collective hunting. This devolves exclusively on the festive societies and age classes that participated in the festival. Each group is accompanied by the two associated girl auxiliaries, who are sometimes joined by several female age mates, especially of the "wanton" class. At least one man of more mature age invariably goes along in order to advise the younger people and to see to the preservation of ceremonial rules. He has the prerogative of eating the brains of animals killed, this diet being tabooed to the young people. The oldest woman of the society—contrary to Snethlage's observation—does not dream of permitting herself to be loaded down with kitchen utensils [887] to be brought to the hunters' assembly. Old women calmly wait in the village for whatever food their sons or sons-in-law are morally obliged to bring them. I am further puzzled by the function of the cords and ropes (both of tucum fiber) with which, according to the same investigator, every hunter provides himself.

224 791 In the collective hunting trips, too, the tamhą'k (p. 98) play a part, attempting to increase the yield of the undertaking by first performing certain actions. Indeed, they even tried to improve the quality of the slain game by their magical influence. If animals were to be surrounded with the aid of firing, a tamhą'k had to be the first to light the fire. He and his fellows, however, did not take part in the ensuing drive.

[illegible] Meine Reise, 483.

1 [i.e. the sariema --- Analyst]

553 names to a sister's son, a woman to her brother's daughter. However, the sets of the
kąʼmakra and the atųʼkmakra differ from those of the plaza groups, as well as from
616 those hereditary within an exogamous moiety. Actually, only five out of twenty-
611 eight cases genealogically examined literally conformed to the ideal pattern. In
practice, one generation, or even two, may be skipped in favor of a younger kinsman; and occasionally there is a transfer within the same generation if the individuals affected are separated by a considerable disparity of age. The deviations from the ideal scheme are connected with a principle of reciprocity already explained (p. 78).

In the process of name transference a person may change his rainy season moiety affiliation. A paternal aunt had transferred to her brother's daughter the kąʼ name Kentapí, but died before being able to convey her other names to the girl. As a result another patrilineal kinswoman took the deceased aunt's place; but she was atųʼk, hence the first name, Nyõkí, which she conveyed to the girl automatically made the niece an atųʼkkwęiye.

616 The moieties now under discussion differ in decorative paint. The kąʼmakra are
distinguished by a red angle whose apex lies at the upper end of the breastbone
302 while the sides terminate on the shoulders; furthermore, by horizontal black lines
on the body and limbs. The atųʼkmakra lack the angle, and substitute vertical
black lines.

616 The kąʼ battle cry is "wa-wa-wa!" that of the atųʼkmakra "kę-kę-kę!" The birth
of a new kąʼ or atųʼk boy is thus heralded by the maternal uncle or grandmother's
851 brother who is to pass on his names to the infant: this man steps outside the door
and calls loudly the characteristic rainy season cry.

616 Each group is headed by a commandant appointed by the council, and his mother's house becomes the place of assembly for the membership. The kąʼ headman bears the title of ikąʼrkate (kąʼra = ready), that is, he who is ready; the atųʼk counterpart is called kačúnkate, a term that has remained untranslatable.

616 The practical significance of this dichotomy is restricted to the log races and
hunting trips of the meipimrąʼk period. In the races the male members of the oppos-
527 ing halves—in one instance, the women too—constitute the teams. A race takes
place the very first day after the close of the ceremonial period (see p. 168). Not
until after this race are the men of the two groups properly divided in the plaza,
where all sit down in a circle, whose eastern half is occupied by the kąʼmakra, while
the atųʼkmakra are on the western side. For the songs the best kąʼ log racer beats
time with his coiled-up rattle girdle.

Then follow the log races, but in a very different manner from the first one just described. At first the kąʼmakra as challengers make the logs, the first pair not exceeding about 12 cm. in diameter and a somewhat lesser length. With each successive race the size rapidly increases until after about a fortnight the normal dimensions are attained, that is, about 50 cm. in diameter and 1 m. in length. The first pair of the kąʼmakra has red longitudinal lines on the surface and on each terminal plane there is a concentric red patch, whereas the atųʼk equivalent has a wide diametric black stripe.

As soon as the kąʼ logs have attained normal size the challenging henceforth devolves on the atųʼkmakra until the close of the rainy season. The first atųʼk pair is, if possible, even of lesser diameter than the first kąʼ logs, but the length is greater, being close to 1 m. from the start. The decorative painting of the initial atųʼk pair is as described above.

Both groups, including female members, several times join in hunting trips

Both groups, including female members, several times join in hunting trips
616 during which the hunters abstain from sex relations, but subsequently the groups
224 exchange their women. If the hunt falls in the period of ką'makra log making,
834 the members of this group give their opponents only a small piece of every beast
837 killed, but supplement the present with powder, a few arrows, a bow, and the knife
used for cutting up the game. The atų'kmakra act correspondingly during the
period of *their* races. During the atų'k period the hunters return in a race with
considerably hollowed-out logs.

616 After the last atų'k race, which closes the meipimrą'k season, the women of each
527 group prepare meat pies with green maize, which is already available then, and
distribute them among the membership.

After the beginning of the maize harvest, at the very close of the meipimrą'k
616 period, the mepatąmĕwę'pupú (viewing of sisters' sons) ceremony takes place.
527 The atų'k of both sexes bring new fruits from the plots and assemble outside the
village, where part of the crop is cooked. Every man who has a sister's son is
604 standing beside him and thus they march to the plaza, where the red-painted ką'makra
men with *their* sisters' sons are expecting them, standing in a row. The atų'k
deposit their prepared fruits before their opponents; finally one of them appears
with an armful of maize cobs, which he throws contemptuously at the feet of the
ką'makra men. While this is going on, each group lauds the great number and good
appearance of their nephews while ridiculing their opponents'. This ceremony
usually closes the meipimrą'k season.

616 Although the inauguration of the maize harvest and the appearance of the höčwá
575 society fall within this period, they are not associated with the rainy season
moieties.

On the other hand, this bisection of the tribe seems to play a part in the second
616 initiation phase, that is, during the vų'tę' season. Five weeks after the beginning
881 of their seclusion the novices parade round the boulevard until they reach the
seclusion yard of the eastern class leader. During this procession they were shielded
from view by large mat shields. The novices of atų'k affiliation left the seclusion
yard at nightfall in order to return each to his own hut of seclusion "for night
belongs to the atų'k." On the other hand, those belonging to the ką'makra did not
leave before daybreak "because daytime belongs to the ką'makra." On the day that
[302] terminates their seclusion the youths appeared painted from head to foot with the
yellow urucú pigment (p. 53). On this background they were painted, according
to their affiliation, with vertical or horizontal lines in red urucú.

616 Further, I noted that in the races intervening between the lifting of their own
561 and of their first commandant's seclusion the novices bore the black lines
characteristic of the ką' and atų'k, respectively. Subsequently, however, only the
age-class grouping made itself perceptible.

616 The dual division discussed in this section suggests even more strongly than
that of the plaza groups a secondary allotment of functions originally vested in
174 the exogamous moieties. It seems highly probable that anciently the ką'makra
171 were identical with the eastern, the atų'kmakra with the western moiety, the former
enjoying ceremonial ascendancy during the dry season, the latter during the rainy
season. Only as the age classes with the vų'tę' system (p. 92) gained in
importance, the ką'makra were pushed from the ceremonial of the dry season into the
opening weeks of the rainy period. The dichotomy of nature associated at Ponto
with the rainy season moieties is a feature of the exogamous moiety system of other
tribes. This holds for the Kaingang I saw in the toldos of the Ivahy region (state
of Paraná) in 1912–13: Kamé, the ancestor of one of their moieties, was described

616 881 527 Apart from their functions at initiation, the plaza groups likewise figure at the tepyarkwá (Fish Song) festival, for throughout that celebration the east and the west groups run log races. In the solemnities themselves two societies perform—the me'kẽ'n (=Aquatic Birds) or Clowns; and the "Fishes" recruited from the six plaza groups, among whom the Bats are conspicuous.

616 174 182 The contemporary functions of this complex scheme of three eastern and three western groups with distinctive personal names, decorative paint, and meeting houses hardly warrant its existence. I consider it possible that the present plaza groups represent clans formerly localized within the village, that these units fell into genealogical confusion, but retained their ceremonial obligations. The Akwẽ-Šerénte, like the Bororo, have moieties composed of several localized clans with ceremonial functions. Possibly the Timbira moieties shared this feature in earlier times.

Age Classes and Age Moieties

561 The age classes result from the boys' initiation, which accordingly requires discussion from a structural point of view, ceremonial aspects being reserved for treatment in a subsequent section.

561 881 All males pass through an approximately ten-year cycle of initiation. Those jointly initiated form a fixed lifelong age class: no one can resign or join a younger or older class. Thus, apart from the as yet uninitiated boys below, say, ten years of age, all males belong to some age class. In addition, the prospective novices at the next initiation organize in an unofficial class, mimicking so far as possible the youths' activities.

561 The four youngest and athletically active of the recognized classes occupy each a distinct place in the plaza, two on the east and two on the west side. This position automatically shifts with the lapse of time. Two successive entering classes always alternate as to the side of the plaza they enter: if the earlier is admitted on the east, the second inevitably goes to the west side about ten years later. With the appearance of a new class the survivors of the older active class on the same side leave the sport community, passing into the council, that is, into the very center of the plaza. The next older class of the side moves into the site thus vacated, creating in turn a gap that is filled by the newcomers. Ten years or so later the newly founded age class inaugurates a corresponding shift on the complementary side. Since the newcomers always enter on the north side, the transposition is invariably southward.

561 616 In figure 9 the as yet uninitiated boys are represented by a broken circle. The age mates completing initiation in a given year are designated as pepyé (warriors), and their position is marked by a double circle. The admission, shift, and exit of all surviving classes (as of November, 1935) are schematically represented; four classes now extinct figure with Arabic ciphers. It is thus possible to indicate the period of admission of the oldest men now living. However, the mechanism is adequately illustrated by the last three initiations (1913, 1923, 1933). All dates prior to 1923 are only approximate. Generally the span of a cycle is a decade, with positive or negative variations as great as two years.

In 1913 the cycle of age-class D (the present rópkama), which occupied the northwest site in the plaza, came to a close. Hence, the hitherto unofficial class E (the present kaprąnpotíkama) entered the scene opposite, that is, on the northeast, hitherto occupied by C (the present kokrų'tkama). Hence C moved to the site of A (the present kukóekama), a class twenty years older and then the oldest of the four classes. Consequently the survivors of A left the racing association, passing into the middle of the plaza to become councilors.

616 561 There are thus no more than four active age classes, one pair on the east, the other on the west side. These "moieties" are closely connected with the two vu'té girls and constitute the teams pitted against each other during the ceremonial season. Since each age class includes members of both exogamous moieties, the dual division produced by pairing the classes is of an entirely different order from that of the exogamous moieties. Nevertheless, a single term, mehakrã, is applied to the concept of the class pair and the exogamous moiety; and the moiety units of either type are called by identical names kó ikateye and hará kateye, for the east or west moieties, respectively.

616 561 562 527 ● Girl associates. --The term vu'té designates both the girl associates and the ceremonial season complementary to the meipimrá'k period. It is only during the vu'té season that dances and songs are proper in the boulevard; during the meipimra'k they are confined exclusively to the plaza. During the celebration of the great festival of the year the vu'té girls recede into the background, but with its close the activities of the age classes at once begin in the houses of their respective girl auxiliaries and continue until the approach of the rainy season ushers in special solemnities formally closing the season.

The vu'té are chosen at a secret and unobtrusive council meeting held on a cultivated plot some distance from the village. Primarily it is the girls' fathers who are chosen on the basis of the following qualifications:

(a) Each must have a daughter from about seven to ten years of age.
(b) One man must belong to the eastern, the other to the western age-class moiety.
(c) Both men must be industrious and sociable in order to play their part successfully, for the entertainment of the age-class moieties devolves on them, not on the girls' maternal uncles.
(d) Their wives must own diametrically opposite houses, their position as to cardinal directions being immaterial.

The girls retain office until they receive a string girdle (pl. 3, a), that is, about until puberty. Virginity is imperative; if one of the girls loses it during her term of office, she is permitted to serve until the end of the current vu'té period, but at the beginning of the next ceremonial season both girls would be superseded by new appointees. As a rule, the girls remain in office until the close of the second pepyé initiation, so that the incipient age class may start their cycle with new auxiliaries. This was true in 1933 when the põhitĩkama completed their cycle.

A vu'té should be of reserved and staid demeanor; she does not participate in the games girls of her age play in the plaza. 616 561

The eastern age-class moiety assembles in the maternal home of the vu'te' whose father is of the western age-class moiety, and vice versa. 562 527

The members of an age-class moiety and their vu'te' address one another as brothers and sisters and behave accordingly. When the girl's father puts up or enlarges a dwelling to provide adequate space for the moiety meetings, its members assist him, as they do when he is farming.

The eastern semicircle belongs to the vu'te' of the eastern age-class moiety, and vice versa. Victorious racers arriving at the boulevard with their log always run toward the house of their girl associate, whither the losing team must follow them. Sometimes the racers continue running round the boulevard until completely exhausted. Then the victors' vu'te' is likely to commiserate the fatigued runners or will bar their way by stepping in their path as they are passing her house, and will touch the log with her hand, whereupon it is immediately dropped.

Relay races and races between two competitors always start in the space before

561 the house of the challenging team's vų'tę'. The course of a relay race is from this house along her semicircle, thence onward. Two competitors theoretically run
616 from the house of the challenger's vų'tę' across the plaza to the opponents' vų'tę'
562 house. In the present village the ground slopes southward in some measure, so these races always proceed from the house of the vų'tę' of the eastern age-class
527 moiety (on the north side of the village) to the vų'tę' house of the complementary pair.

Leaders.—The two official leaders, mamkyē'ti, of a class represent, respectively,
561 the eastern and western plaza groups. Before the opening of the first initiation
551 phase they are carefully selected by the councilors from among the prospective initiates. To begin the solemnities these two boys are led out of their mothers'
624 houses and made to face each other in the plaza. Their badge is a fan of erect arara tail feathers worn at the back of the head. In the earlier phase, where the initiates of the eastern and the western plaza groups appear separately, each leader heads his group, all marching in Indian file. In the latter phase, where this dichotomy no longer holds, and after the close of initiation, the leader of the eastern moiety takes precedence.

561 These mamkyē'ti form part of a ceremonial aristocracy (p. 97). It is they who actually govern the age classes, being possibly the only functionaries who literally
624 issue orders among the Canella, a task for which they are trained from the begin-
622 ning. Only they have the right to summon their class fellows, who are obliged to obey the call and may not assemble without their leaders. Anyone who has dealings with a class, including the chiefs, must turn to its mamkyē'ti. These leaders are subject only to the council and—during the initiation period—also to the mekapónkate (instructor, commandant), who belongs to an older class, and to his deputy, the mekapónkatekahą'k, the senior member of the class to be initiated.

In case of a leader's death no substitute is chosen. If both mamkyē'ti should die prematurely, the instructor's deputy assumes the leadership, but this is always regarded as a calamity for the class. Theoretically, the leaders are equals, but in practice the abler of the two soon gains ascendancy without, however, completely eclipsing his colleague. In contrast to the chiefs, the mamkyē'ti exercise no authority whatever beyond their age class.

561 In former times the mamkyē'ti led their class in war and in the chase, though always aided by one or several older men. Since warfare belongs completely to
624 the past and communal hunting has dwindled in importance the present signifi-
701 cance of these officers is slight—apart from ceremonial. The present situation for the several classes is as follows:

(a) The youngest class, kra'tą̄'kama, is actually governed by its mekapónkate.

561 (b) The next older class, pōhįtíkama, has two mamkyē'ti, but they are com-
624 pletely overshadowed by the personality of Kapērtų'k, the second commandant
[555] and actual leader.

(c) The kaprąnpotíkama have a very able and energetic leader named Yō'ro; his colleague is no longer living. During the last pepyé ceremony of this class (1923) Čątú was their instructor; he remained with them after the close of the initiation and from sheer devotion to his pupils continues as their nonofficial commandant. Yō'ro still continues to regard him as a superior.

(d) The oldest active class, the rópkama, have only one mamkyē'ti, Koipō'ro, the other having died.

616 The term mamkyē'ti, evidently connected with kyē, exogamous moiety, suggests
174 that the leaders originally represented the exogamous halves rather than the plaza

361 When about four to eight years old the girls wear as festive decoration wooden bracelets, which are sometimes prettily carved.

868 411 Boys segregate themselves from girls at an early age. Their first and principal toy is a small bow, which differs from the adults' weapon in having a round cross section (pl. 24, *a*). The first arrows are little rods made from the ribs of palm leaflets (pl. 24, *b*). As the lads grow older, bows and arrows gradually approach the ultimate form, the stave grows flatter, the arrows are feathered and pointed.

524 Among playthings there are toy guns for shooting maize kernels by means of an elastic strip of bamboo (pl. 23, *g*). Obviously borrowed from Neobrazilians, they share the name of firearms, katõkre (tõk, the report of a gun). Further, the boys have buzzers (pl. 24, *n*), humming tops with a string pulled through the hole in a little board (pl. 24, *i*), small palm-nut tops, miniature imitations of dance masks, animal figurines of wax (pl. 23, *a–f*), and grass figures like those of the Apinayé.[illegible]

Trick carvings (pl. 24, *o*), games of patience (pl. 24, *m*), and cat's cradle serve for the amusement of bigger boys and girls.

THE BOYS' CLASS

561 867 857 At about six years of age the boys begin to have a sense of age-class solidarity, a fact that strongly affects their relations with their families. No one urges them to form such a company, which is joined quite spontaneously, by some of them earlier, by others later. This is a natural consequence of an environment surcharged with a socioceremonial spirit. As their model they take the youngest of the four official age classes, and whenever this group plays its part in a major ceremonial this has an obviously stimulating effect on the minors.

I first observed this in 1930 at the second ketúaye of the subsequent põhịtíkama class. About fifteen boys (from among twice that number), mostly six to eight years old united as an unofficial class. *On their own request* the council appointed an instructor, mekapónkate, for them; and he taught them to plait, shoot, sing and dance, explained the ceremonial, and enjoined upon them to be honest and comradely. They went jointly to bathe and hunt, arranged races and log races—in short, prepared in every respect for their future status as a recognized class. The elders even gave them a class name—Pạdntụktíkama (pạdntụkti, black arara). Three years later the põhịtíkama completed their cycle of initiation and precipitated a shift of age classes in the plaza; and the minors were then admitted as the junior eastern class, mepantúa, to the northeast station there, acquiring the name Kra'tãkama. As already stated, they began racing against the western mepantúa, a group on the average ten years older. In the following year, when subjected to their first ketúaye, they had their organization completed.

561 861 536 527 On my return in 1935 I found a new boys' class in process of formation. In 1936 I saw them nicely imitating the adults' erection of a hadre mast at the opening of the vụ'tẹ' period. A group of hunters comprising members of both age-class moieties had prepared a mast 6 m. high outside the village. Having wound foliage round it and tied on the sliced game, they carried it into the village at a trot. Ahead of them a man came dashing and uttering piercing yells; in the center of the plaza he dug a hole for the post. At once the women came rushing up from all directions. The hunters planted the pole in the pit and held it erect, but pretended to let it drop now in one direction, now in the other, which naturally made the women run thither. At last the men laid down the mast, and the women stripped it pell-mell while one of the Clowns at the last moment tried to drag it away. Hardly was this

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[illegible] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 108 f.

561 scene over before several other Clowns came running with a small, gnarled tree
● 527 from which intestines, pieces of wood, but also some slices of good meat were sus-
pended, of which the women likewise took possession.

536 On the following day the boys went hunting and killed a number of small birds and steppe rats. They tied their spoils to a tree, dragged it to the plaza, and set it upright, while the little girls came running from all sides to pillage it. Other boys had tied their game to the tip of their long tuft of hair and ran across the plaza, chased by the girls, who finally despoiled them of the booty.

GROWING GIRLS

867 At the age of boys beginning to organize, the girls already assist their mothers at
868 home and in the plantations and mostly excel them as dancers and singers in the
plaza. Public opinion exacts competence in both spheres. A girl unfit for domestic
[581] and farming labor will not readily find a husband; but the collaboration of girls
in the chanting and dancing that is indispensable for every festival and ceremonial
is considered equally important. No Timbira mother would restrain her daughter
from attending a dance on the ground of work to be done at home or in the plots.
626 If there are too few girls in the plaza for a dance, the truants are publicly reproved
by the elders, who may send specially delegated men to fetch them out of their
561 maternal homes. One of these messengers advances the tip of his sword-club toward
the girl, who is obliged to clasp it, and he then leads her by the club to the plaza.
Such treatment may be accorded to girls no older than ten, and at about twelve
both sexes are in the thick of the manifold socioceremonial life of age classes, festive
societies, and other units.

SOCIAL RELATIONS OF THE SEXES

562 Before discussing the relations of the sexes during and prior to wedlock, I wish
184 to state explicitly what is sufficiently apparent from the description of social struc-
ture: Neither sex considers the other inferior; the sexes have distinct functions,
622 not higher and lower ones. Of course there are no feminine chiefs or councilors,
and the religious ceremonies on behalf of the commonweal are always performed
by men. Further, there is no preponderantly feminine organization. On the other
hand, women not only own dwellings and plantations, but also have a claim on
the children, and except in warfare nothing is undertaken without feminine par-
ticipation, whence the vų'tę' institution (p. 92), the girl associates in the festive
societies and the boys' initiation (p. 95 f.), and the resulting membership of women
in the hąmrén (p. 97 f.). There is but a single wholly masculine organization, that
of the King Vultures; and this is due to their comprising all the honorary chiefs,
which automatically excludes women since female chiefs are unknown. The two
types of formalized friendship likewise embrace both sexes, even though the cir-
cumstances in which the kwų'nõ bond is established restrict the number of females
capable of entering it (p. 104).

578 In contrast to tribes with masculine societies for terrorizing women or with other
562 methods of frightening them,[illegible] the Rąmkõ'kamekra seem to be above all interested
in a merry comradeship of the two sexes. This attitude rests on the manifest appre-
183 ciation of feminine personality. If a girl or woman differs in opinion from a man
and agreement is hopeless, the matter is allowed to rest; it would be regarded as
mean and ridiculous for a man to get angry, let alone try coercion. All relations
570 rest on free consent within the tribal code. Accordingly rape was unknown, the

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[illegible] Nimuendajú and Lowie, The Associations of the Serénte, 415.

526 562 terminal incline. At the closing ketúaye ceremony the biggest of the graduating novices lent them a hand. In the other cases several of the men, after delivering their own logs, turned back to help the women. In 1933 or thereabouts a certain Yarpót, then seventeen years of age and wedded to the champion racer of the recently initiated age class, ranked as the best of the female runners. Women who have borne children no longer actively participate in the log races.

Only the opening race of the meipimrą'k season takes place in the fashion mentioned above, with large but bilaterally hollowed burity logs. Otherwise the racers of this period use gradually enlarged logs, as noted.

527 531 In addition to the races hitherto described, which belong in the category of athletic sports, there are others of symbolic character, executed like those of the opening of the meipimrą'k period with logs too light for a test of athletic prowess. Accordingly, they are rather simple relay races with symbolical miniature logs.

This holds in even greater measure of the pąrare (racing logs of the souls of the dead), which weigh only about 245 gr. apiece and are used by the plaza moieties at the close of each initiation phase.

Small pąrare, only 2-5 cm. long, serve as ornaments, being suspended in pairs or bundles from necklaces and sashes (pl. 35, *d*). Nowadays, at least, the Indians attach no interpretation to such decoration. Several times I have seen noteworthy pąrare resembling the little girls' dolls in being characterized as male or female by wax breasts, girdles and hip cords.

417 Given the predilection of the Timbira for these races, old logs are seen lying about in great numbers everywhere in their villages. Anyone may appropriate these and use them at his pleasure. One sees them inside and in front of the houses, as a rule unsplit, rarely bisected, serving as settees along the walls. People like to use them as a barrier to the freely roaming domestic pigs, either by laying one transversely before the threshold or putting them square-fashion round young fruit trees and other plants to be protected near the houses. Sometimes the graves to the rear of the houses and even in the cemetery are fenced in this manner. The fibrous, sappy palm wood rapidly dries out, whereupon the old logs are chopped up for fuel.

526 171 As stated, log races seem to be the national sport of all Timbira tribes. I have witnessed them among the Rąmkō'kamekra, the Apinayé, and the Krahō'; and seen logs of the type in Apą'nyekra, Krīkatí, Pųkóbye, and Kre'pų'mkateye villages. Among the Timbira of Araparytíua (middle Gurupy) I learned that the sport was still in vogue in 1913. In 1931 a punitive expedition to the wild Gaviões discovered two wide, straight roads, probably race tracks, and a rattle girdle with tapir hoofs such as is worn by the Canella čų'kate (p. 139). According to the handful of Čą'kamekra survivors, log racing formerly played the same role as among the Rąmkō'kamekra. Of the now likewise extinct "Poracramacrans" (Pōrekamekra) Pohl reports a log dance, which unfortunately he did not himself witness, for which a special circle had been formed in the plaza:

> Bey diesem Tanze bedienen sie sich bey drittehalb Ellen langer, anderthalb Schuhe im Durchmesser haltender, 4–6 Arroben schwerer Klötze [which Pohl obviously saw] welche auf den Schultern getragen und von den Tänzern einander zugeworfen werden.[illegible]

To hurl and catch logs weighing 87 kg. while dancing is presumably not quite so simple as Pohl seems to have been made to believe.

The only Timbira groups for whom I have discovered no evidence of log races are the inconsiderable remnants of the Krẽyé of Cajuapára and of the Kukóekamekra and Krẽyé of Bacabal, whom I have never visited in their villages. However, the

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[illegible] Pohl, 2:205.

526 In the new village on the Riacho Raposa, because of the slope of the track, all kakaipúa without exception start from the eastern vų'tę' house.

Relay races proceed around the boulevard, which is nearly one kilometer in length and is traversed four or five times. The teams distribute their members in the appropriate lane along the course. This type of race also starts at the challenged team's vų'tę' house and always proceeds invariably toward the right side. The runner carries a wand (aikrö're)—usually an arrow—which he passes on to the next member of his team; from the Pųkóbye I obtained a pair of pretty wooden race wands tasseled at the tip. The older girls and the women also practice relay racing, though not nearly so often as the young men. Foremost among the Rąmkō'kamekra is a girl barely thirteen years old named Kopkré. Once she ran three times round the boulevard without once passing on her wand, yet remaining far ahead of the racers of the opposing team.

Archery.—I have never seen competitive target practice; but there are two other games with bow and arrow, krúatak and watotē'k.

The former is rather a boys' game than one for adults. On as level a course as possible the competitors shoot off their arrows so that they glide along the ground. Whoever shoots his arrow farthest wins all the other players' arrows. Little boys indulge in this pastime on any road, youths on the radial path of their vų'tę' house.

In watotē'k an obstacle is erected about four meters away from the archer, who shoots his arrow at it with full force, so that it rebounds, rising in a curved trajectory, and lands far away. In this game, too, the player who makes his missile go farthest wins the arrows overtaken. The obstacle is either a bundle of palm leaves or a small mound. In the great ricochet shooting contest of the pepkahą'k (p. 219) a wooden lath was attached on top of the mound by means of two staves piercing it. In 1936 the close of tepyarkwá was followed by a contest of this order, with an obstacle formed of a horizontal cord stretched between two poles. The players ardently and uninterruptedly indulged in the game all morning so that, notwithstanding the cord wrapped around for a wristguard, several of them had blood dripping from the left wrist, as well as from the index and middle fingers, between which the arrow is released.

Sham fights.—A rather dangerous game, which figures in the Kre'pų'mkateye myth of the sun and the moon, was confined to experienced warriors, one of whom would challenge his fellows to shoot at him with sharp arrows. He would win all the arrows that missed him. I saw something of the sort only on two special occasions.

527 [688] In the first case the councilors had decided on awarding a ceremonial lance (pl. 31) to one Nyōhí in recognition of his retaining the memory of many old chants forgotten by the others. The bestowal took the following form: At the time of the morning bath the men of the eastern age-class moiety assembled at the village spring, armed with clubs and three of them with ceremonial lances, krowačwa. At the same time the members of the complementary moiety, to which Nyōhí belonged, met in the plaza, armed with arrows topped with grass balls. When the eastern group appeared and halted at the northern entrance to the village, the westerners began to dance, defiantly brandishing their weapons. Three times the two factions advanced toward each other and retreated. Suddenly from among the eastern group there darted a warrior decorated with black paint—the celebrated racer Čą're, who was carrying a handsomely feathered ceremonial lance. At once the opposing group began to shoot at him, but he ran right into their midst, dexterously eluding their arrows by zigzag leaps so that but a single one so much as lightly grazed him. The easterners now also proceeded toward the plaza, where the two

527 moieties ranged themselves in two facing lines from north to south. Thus they were singing, first to the west, then to the east, and finally again westward, whereupon they broke up. Čą're handed the lance to Nyõhí, who painted himself red, then sang and danced all morning and part of the afternoon with the lance on all the radial paths from the plaza to the houses and back (cf. the solo dance, p. 139).

527 The second occasion was the award of a lance in 1936, at the close of tepyarkwá to the leader of the Clowns "because he had proved nimble and merry, was a good
554 singer, and did everything as ordered by the elders. The arara tail feathers that decorated this lance—nowadays one of the greatest valuables in this tribe—had a long previous history. At the ketúaye of 1934 they had served to adorn the mamkyẽ'tis' occiputs. After the terminal ceremony the councilors had a hąkyará decoration made thereof, an article that goes round the forehead, falling down the back. This they awarded to one Haką', whose rapid intelligence and ability as precentor during the initiation festival had aroused their approbation. (See pl. 28, *a*.) For two years he danced and sang with this decoration, then made a present of it to the Fish Otters at tepyarkwá (p. 229), and they made it into feathers for the nape of the neck. After the close of this festival the councilors had a ceremonial lance decorated with this ornament and for the reason given above bestowed the emblem on Pačét, leader of the Clowns.

Another sham fight took place during preparations for the above-mentioned big ricochet shooting after tepyarkwá. The council had sent the junior of the two eastern age classes to the Serro do Alpercatas in order to fetch a great quantity of the arrow cane that grows there. On their return three days later they camped at some distance from the village, each making half a dozen arrows for himself. The next morning they marched to the village, where the junior western class, armed with throwing sticks, was expecting them in the plaza. The easterners distributed their membership over three radial paths. Suddenly the two parties shouted and rushed toward each other till they were about fifty meters apart. The westerners began hurling their sticks, while their opponents discharged arrows with blunt heads. Nevertheless a westerner was wounded in one foot.

526 *Wrestling.*—Pohl describes a wrestling scene connected with a declaration of war (see below). Kissenberth says the extinct Kénkateye-Canella were passionately devoted to this sport, but Snethlage recognized its subordinate role among the Rąmkõ'kamekra, where he saw only youths engaged in wrestling.[illegible] I witnessed such contests only on the part of the novices graduating from pepyé, after their seclusion proper was ended, when they were camped in the woods near the village; and here, too, it was a matter of mere play.

526 The following tale was heard.

> 539 Down by the brook, but in a little frequented spot somewhat above the general water supply, there were seated a dozen young girls and women. By chance one Kenkré, a lad of eighteen or nineteen, happened to walk along and was about to pass by, for it is not advisable to intrude on a bevy of lasses when they want to be by themselves. But they barred his path, saying, "You have the reputation of being a strong lad, Kenkré; well, then wrestle with us." He did so, throwing one after another, but after a dozen of these combats he grew tired and began to lose. However, the girls continued to challenge him till he was utterly exhausted. Then they chased him away.

Girl wrestlers seem to have a noteworthy knack of flattening an opponent's backbone with a jab.

524 *Stilts.*—Contrary to Apinayé usage,[illegible] only the boys of this tribe walk on stilts

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[illegible] Pohl, Reise, 2:206. Kissenberth, Araguaya-Reise, 41. Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 163.

[illegible] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 117.

IV. CEREMONIALISM

X796 ● 527 221 Among the Canella ceremonialism is of the utmost importance, absorbing a large part of the people's time and energy. At the same time it is so predominantly secular that to consider it as a part of religion would be doing violence to the facts. Ceremonialism is largely restricted to the vų'tę′ period, named after the girls associated with the age-class moieties (see p. 92) and practically coextensive with the dry season. The complementary part of the year is called meipimrą'k.

Every year the Canella celebrate some major festival—either the first (ketúaye) or the second (pepyé) phase of initiation or any one of three intercalary festivals, viz., kõkrít (Mummers); tepyarkwá (Fish Song); or pepkahą'k (Warrior-imitating). The opening of both seasons and the close of the ceremonial season are themselves signalized by solemnities whose description may suitably precede the account of the festivals themselves.

Opening and Close of Ceremonial Season

The vų'tę′ season begins with the maize harvest, extending until the Pleiades (krot̢) become invisible after sunset on the western horizon. This event ushers in the meipimrą'k, which lasts until the maize harvest.

Opening in 1931.—On April 14 the age classes assembled, each in the maternal home of their vų'tę′, whence both groups simultaneously marched, yelling and 527 often stopping, to the plaza, where they sat down in two parallel lines. The best log racer, carrying in his hand a rolled-up cotton girdle with rattling *Lagenaria* tips (čų), sat down before the double line, and slowly began to beat time on the ground with it. All accompanied him, singing two songs in an undertone. This is the customary prelude to a race with two huge burity logs of exceptional weight, such as was scheduled for the morrow. The logs, fashioned in a camp five kilometers north of the village, were thrown down in the plaza, whereupon meat pies were distributed and consumed. In the afternoon a second race was run with smaller logs, which were carried to the plaza from the Ponto creek ford, a distance of only one kilometer.

On the evening of April 16 the youngest of the western age classes, the põhę'kama, headed by their class leader Yóro and accompanied by a number of boys of the as yet unofficial class, came singing to the maternal home of the eastern vų'tę′, whose [576] mother, Yątkré, received them seated at her door. The youths and boys sat down in a row, while Yóro advanced toward Yątkré, pressed his hands against his knees—the posture proper in addressing a sitting person of consequence—and in soft, modest tones begged permission to recommence the vų'tę′ festival of her daughter, Iromkré, which request was curtly granted.

A little later the youngest eastern age class, the wakõ'kama, obtained the corresponding sanction from the mother of Repíya, the western vų'tę′.

On April 17, before dawn, the boys had gone hunting pereás. They deposited their kill at the plaza site of the põhę'kama. Then all sang in the plaza and marched to the residences of their respective vų'tę′.

[302] At 5 P.M. the two girls took up positions in the plaza, Iromkré being led by her predecessor in office (vų'tę'tum), Pųtkwę'i. She was painted only with a narrow red stripe running horizontally across the upper chest and back, though somewhat lower toward the breastbone. She wore a forehead cloth and a hip cloth in addition to her usual skirt. Simultaneously Repíya arrived from the other side—alone, because her predecessor was dead. Her body was quite nude, bearing a similar red stripe; moreover, her lower jaw was painted red, and a knife was stuck into a cloth

round her hair. The three formed a horizontal line and began dancing to and fro from east to west. Soon the pōhę'kama came from Iromkré's home, while at the same time a number of women, led by the chief Kukrā̆čą' and another elderly man, approached from Repíya's home. They took both girls into their midst, and Kukrā̆čą' divested them of all their decoration. Then the girls went home in opposite directions, while the thirty-six pōhę'kama, singing in an undertone, danced slowly round the boulevard.

The next morning the two youngest classes, pōhę'kama and wakō'kama, went hunting. They dissected their kill at a camp five kilometers north of the village and tied the flesh with burity bast to the upper part of a 4-m. long pole, which the two classes dragged to the plaza amid much hullabaloo at 5 P.M. and held upright. Immediately women and girls came rushing from all sides, trying to tear it down. One of them succeeded in climbing up and fetching down a slice of meat. At last they forced the pole to the ground and tumultuously possessed themselves of the booty.

Then followed the short dance customary at this hour in the plaza, whereupon there began the major festival of the year, which happened to be pepkahą'k. During the performance of any of these festivals little is seen of the vų'tę', but no sooner is it closed than the activities of the age classes recommence in the houses of their girls, only ceasing with the approach of the rainy season, when the ceremonial period ends with a two days' series of special ceremonies.

On the first day the Agouti and Jaguar societies appear, as well as the Little Falcon; there follows the atúpok, that is, the burning of grass areas in the plaza. On the second (final) day, the societies and the Little Falcon reappear, followed by the hōyakrékate ceremony and the erection of the kōkré log.

Opening in 1936.—In 1936 the opening was greatly delayed by the Rąmkō'kamekra split into two local communities. The procedure was as follows.

In the afternoon of July 6 Vakái, beating time on a mat with his rattle girdle, sang in the plaza, as always in the capacity of a čúkate whenever the next day's race is to substitute the enormous and heavy logs of the pau d'arco heartwood for those of burity. The logs had been fashioned three kilometers above the village on the Rapoza Creek, were naturally perforated in the direction of the axis, and had the weird weight of certainly well above 100 kg. Such logs are called pąra, hąmkrán, or ku'hētum.

The following morning the members of the western challenging team assembled and cleared a long track four meters in width and a path from it to the great race course outside and south of the village. The two logs were laid parallel beside each other on leaves on the track and painted with urucú by two one-time pepyé girls (pl. 29, *a*).

After the arrival of the eastern team both sat down at the edge of the track, each on one side of the logs, and the four čų'kate took up their posts: Vakái stepped behind the logs (viewed from the village); Pąrkré, holding a thin staff, in front of them; while Pąnhí stood to the right and Mīkrō' to the left. (Fig. 10.) All four were facing the logs and wore folded cloth bands around the forehead and waist, which ornaments were removed by their piněwę'i at the close of the ceremony. Čų'kate means "those of the rattle girdle" (čų').

Vakái began to sing, extending his arms, stooping, and vigorously stamping his right foot, the rattle girdle being tied round the corresponding knee. In the meantime Pąrkré mutely danced up and down before the logs while holding the staff like a throwing spear. The two others were standing immobile and silent. At the close of his song Vakái, making odd movements with his hands, came up quite close to the logs. As soon as he had finished, the two lateral čų′kate answered, thereby giving the signal for starting the race. The challengers are privileged to choose whichever log they prefer. Immediately four men on each side raised their log to the shoulder of their first racer, and the opponents began running toward the village. Midway another spot had been cleared like the first; there both logs were thrown down and shifted by the contending sides, whereupon the race to the village was at once resumed, the logs being thrown down in the plaza. Thereupon Pąrkré, softly singing, danced from house to house around the boulevard, one of his pinčwę′i shading him with an uplifted mat. In the meantime the logs in the plaza were painted once more.

At sunset the age-class moieties marched each in front of its vų'tę′'s home and asked her maternal uncle, not her father, for permission to open the vų'tę′ season. The uncle, with the other members of the family, had been waiting for them.

The next afternoon, and henceforth daily, a log race was run. Then the two vų'tę′ appeared, covered with falcon down and decorated with bands of folded cloths and other objects. Each accompanied by her predecessor in office, they went simultaneously from their houses toward the plaza, where these two pairs danced from east to west, passing each other. At the same time there came from the north the slowly chanting younger age classes, and from the south a group of young women and girls. They turned about in the plaza and sang facing each other, the men with raised hands.

Then the oldest man in the village appeared with a rattle, dancing to its accompaniment, while an old woman sang with the bandoleer of the precentresses. The younger classes accompanied the old man's dance, then danced across the plaza to the vų'tę′ houses and back again to the plaza, where the one at the head constantly imitated the falcon's cry. A mepikén dance around the boulevard closed the proceedings.

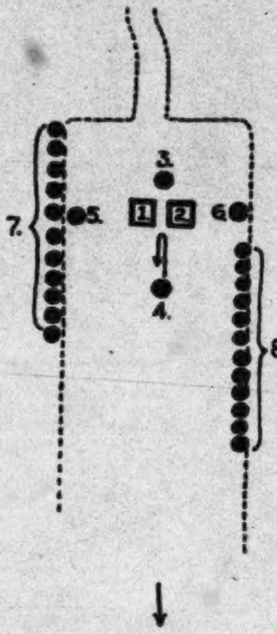

Fig. 10. Opening of ceremonial period, teams with hamkrán logs. 1, 2, logs; 3, Vakái; 4, Pąrkré; 5, Pąnhí; 6, Mikrõ′; 7, challenging team; 8, challenged team.

The next day a troop made up of members of both age-class moieties went out hunting while the girls marched singing around the boulevard in order to help the hunters get ample booty. Some forty Indians were waiting for the hunters on the Riacho dos Bois, three kilometers from the village. As always nowadays, the kill was inconsiderable—a coati, an anteater, a skunk, and two pacas. A thin, straight tree trunk 6 m. in length was barked and wrapped with green foliage, and they tied the sliced booty to it. This pole, called hatre, was carried into the village at a trot, one native dashing ahead with piercing yells and hastily digging a pit for it in the center of the plaza. The bearers set the butt of the pole into the pit and supported it with their hands in an upright position. At once a bevy of women surrounded them, trying to tear down the hatre. The men acted as though about to lay it down on one side, now on the other, thus making the women constantly run hither and yon. At last they laid the hatre down and the

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women in great disorder seized the attached slices of meat, while a Clown made an effort to drag away the entire pole.

Forthwith several other members of the Clown society came running with a gnarled little tree, to which were attached dirty intestines and pieces of wood, but also some good bits of meat. The women possessed themselves of the spoils despite the attempts of the Clowns to snatch them away.

Several days later the unofficial boys' class amusingly imitated their elders' activities. They jointly marched into the steppe, killed small birds and steppe rats, and tied their game to the branches of a little tree trunk 2 m. high, with which they ran to the plaza, where little girls welcomed them and took down the spoils. But the boys had also tied some pieces to the end of their long hair, at the nape of the neck, and thus ran across the plaza, pursued by the little girls, who tried to catch them and take away their booty.

At sunset, after the close of the hatre ceremony, the girls decorated themselves by donning the cord girdle with green urucú leaves stuck in front of it—their customary dancing costume—and moved around the boulevard, slowly clapping their hands.

The rópkama class danced before their vų'tę''s house, with two põhitíkama youths as errand boys, under the direction of a head dancer with a rattle. Then the age-class moieties marched round the village circle—the easterners clockwise, the westerners contraclockwise. Many bowls full of food were carried into the vų'tę' homes for their entertainment, and in front of the houses the singing was kept up until late at night.

Three days later began the tepyarkwá festival.

Formal closing of the season.—(a) The Agoutis and Jaguars always appear jointly, and only on two occasions, viz., at the end of the ceremonial season and during the Mummers' festival. Their activities consist mainly in the Agoutis teasing the Jaguars, who try to capture their tormentors. The Little Falcon (hąkre), who is decorated with falcon down, never appears except with these organizations. His office is hereditary in the maternal line. In 1930 the incumbent was so small that he had to be carried on his special hąpín's neck and this "friend" substituted for him in the requisite rites, the little boy's mother walking beside him.

After the procession of the two societies, the Agoutis take their position in the plaza, facing west and pressing their hands against their knees. One of them stoops down, thus runs to the western vų'tę''s home, that is, to the Jaguars' place of assembly, and calls for the Little Falcon there, the boy assuming his place in the center of the plaza. The Agoutis dance and surround him, while the hąkre squats on his heels, raises his right arm wing-fashion, and with his left puts a whistle between the Little Falcon's lips for him to imitate the bird's cry. Then the Agoutis take the Little Falcon back to the Jaguars' lodge, whence they race back to the plaza. The Little Falcon goes to the eastern vų'tę''s house, that is, to the Agoutis' lodge. As soon as he has vanished inside, the Agoutis utter their cry, to which the Little Falcon answers by a single whistle.

(b) a'túpok. When the sun was already very low, some thirty men were forming a dance ring in the plaza around two of their fellows. One of them, Wakái, the best log racer of the tribe, had a rattle cincture tied to his right leg below the knee and was dancing vehemently; the other was a precentor.

Soon after sunset the people, starting from the boulevard, set fire to the grass of the sectors of the plaza between the radial paths, so that in a few minutes the entire area, 300 m. in diameter, went up in smoke and blaze. Now began that extraordinarily wild, fantastic scene which had aroused Snethlage's admiration in 1924. Boys and girls played the part of game animals surrounded in an old-fashioned battue, simulating an ostrich's neck by raising the arm aloft and with one hand imitating the bird's head; or wearing palm fronds for tails in the role of anteaters. Specter-like forms, pursued by the hunters, were flitting at top speed in the hot twilight atmosphere between flames and smoke. The scene no longer suggested the act of a play, but a matter of life and death. The flash from blank cartridge shots would illuminate the clouds of smoke as impersonators of the quarry tumbled to the ground and were hauled to the plaza by the pursuers. I saw one hunter running off carrying two girls.

The next morning came the distribution of meat pies prepared at night in two huge earth ovens at the inner margin of the circle in front of the vų'tę' homes. There followed a log race around the boulevard; a relay race of women and girls along the same track; and a men's race by couples, from one vų'tę' house to the other clear across the plaza. In the afternoon there was first another log race, then a repetition of the Little Falcon performance, followed by the

(c) hũyakrékate. This is an arrow dance executed in the plaza between the double line of eastern and western age classes, the performers being four males feathered with falcon down. These are the hũyakrékate proper and their successors, that is, the sons of their sisters or boys of equivalent relationship. The office is hereditary in two extended families, both of the western moiety. One of the two incumbents, Mikrõ', transferred his office as well as his name to a sister's son. The other, Pąnhí, was unable to convey his position to the nephew bearing his name because the lad had been chosen to serve as leader of the youngest age class. Accordingly, the office devolved on a more remote kinsman.

The term hũyakrékate contains the root kre, to point, to show. Ordinarily it designates a butterfly larva that develops underground and points in all directions with its tapering, mobile abdomen.

Though not otherwise in any way connected with the vų'tę', the hũyakrékate are reckoned as their chiefs (hõpahí).

With hands pressed against their knees, the age classes assumed positions in two facing lines extending from north to south. The two vų'tę', down-feathered and ornamented with forehead bands and girdles, were led to the plaza by their predecessors, who bore the red shoulder stripe. There each stood in the right wing of the line closer to her home—the eastern vų'tę' thus standing on the north, the western vų'tę' on the south side. The hũyakrékate and their successors stepped in front of the ends of the double row, each boy holding two arrows tipped with grass balls, of which missiles he gave one to his older companion. While the age classes and the four girls were dancing, the uncles aimed the arrows at each other in their raised hands and danced past each other between the lines, changing places, but directly returned to their former position. The pair repeated this three times, then exchanged arrows. During the entire performance the two boys did not budge from their places.

(d) kõkré. Immediately after this scene the kõkré log was put up before one vų'tę' house—in this case the eastern one. The first kõkré of a term of office is put up before the home of the vų'tę' first chosen. Thereafter there is alternation from year to year at the close of the season. The log, a 2-m. long section of a thick burity trunk, is manufactured by three mature men of the age-class moiety affiliated with the vų'tę', but it is chopped and carried to the vų'tę''s home by the Jaguars and Mummers. The girl's father had mounted a sort of chisel, rubbed the haft with urucú, and turned the implement over to the three elders, who then chiseled a x796 longitudinal hollow in the upper surface of the log, giving it the semblance of a trough. The length of the hollow was to correspond to the vų'tę''s stature, which 527 had been measured for the purpose; but because of an error in the length of the log, that of the hollow was slightly reduced. The kõkré was allowed to lie transversely before the girl's door, and the men went off taking along the tool as their fee. All this had been done early in the morning.

In the afternoon, directly after the hũyakrékate everybody marched to the vų'tę''s house. A few paces in front of it a pit was dug exactly in the middle line of the radial path; there the log, planted so that its hollow faced the plaza, was fixed in place by stamping. One of the hũyakrékate boys attended as an onlooker.

This terminated the season, the meipimrą'k commencing the very next day. The kõkré log remained standing for several weeks; then it was removed and chopped up.

The vų'tę' also figure as girl associates (mekuičwę'i) of the Clown society at the tepyarkwá.

527 In its present form the institution is not quite clear, the personal functions of vų'tę' even in ceremonial being quite insignificant. Neither my own experience nor 171 the literature seems to reveal anything comparable among other tribes, with the possible exception of a reference in Jacob Rabbi relating to seventeenth-century Otshukayana in Rio Grande do Norte:[illegible]

> . . . qui deinceps tempus terunt hastilibus certando, luctando, currendo; quibus certaminibus duae foeminae ad id selectae praesident & júdicant de singulorum virtute & victoribus.

To be sure, the vų'tę' do not function as such umpires.

In any case the vų'te' principle is the same as that of the mekuičwę'i associated in couples with every initiation and festive organization. The Apinayé also have comparable pairs of girls bearing "great names."[illegible] The female sex is represented by a member of each moiety at all men's ceremonies.

Opening and Close of the Meipimrą'k Season

527 On the very first day after the close of the ceremonial period there is a race between the two rainy season moieties, kų' and atų'k.[illegible] They are separated by a palm-grass partition erected transversely across the race track about five hundred meters outside the village. The kų' assemble on the side toward the village, the atų'k on the opposite side. This is the only ceremony that in any way justifies the designations People of the Plaza and People of the Outside (p. 84). For this race two pairs of enormous logs are always prepared, one for the men, the other for the girls. On this occasion the men mostly wear their long occipital hair tied together with a small grass ornament, hivakúi (p. 48), and all of them are painted with the designs of their side in vertical or horizontal black lines.

Before the hẽrkučą, that is, the terminal ceremony of the katą'mre period, the first of the season, a one-day hunt is scheduled. At a short distance beyond the village the grass partition is put up across the race course. The kų' assemble on the village side, the atų'k on the far side.

The young girls and women, separated according to rainy season moieties, form two groups close to the street, outside the partition and beside the men affiliated with them by moiety. In front of the atų'kkwęiye (women) stands Ikų'rkate, the atų'k men's leader; in front of the kųkwęiye (women), Kačúnkate, leader of the kų' men. Ikų'rkate goes to the women of the opposite moiety and asks one of them

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[illegible] Pisonis and Marcgravi, 280.

[illegible] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 24.

[illegible] These data supplement what has already been described under the head "Rainy Seaso Moieties" (p. 84 ff.).

x796 527 which atų'k man she wants for a comrade. She names him. Iką'rkate returns to the men of his own moiety, touches the man indicated with a grass wisp, and tells him the woman's name. Kačúnkate goes through a corresponding procedure with the atų'k women, both leaders continuing thus until all women have acquired a mate from the complementary rainy season moiety. The leaders make the requisite arrangements for the log race, at which the atų'k are the challengers. The logs are always inordinately thick burity sections, but are largely hollowed out on the inside. Then the ką' boys remove the grass partition, all jointly marching to the district picked out for hunting.

There they split up into two parties, one hunting in the woods forming a line of marksmen (mekumãirį'), while the others are equipped with digging sticks and bush-knives in order to catch armadillos, anteaters, etc. The women accompany their comrades.

All the kill is brought to a spot where other atų'k have in the meantime fashioned the race logs. Each rainy season moiety deposits its booty in one heap, but the atų'k appropriate all the ką' game and add it to their own pile, where they separate everything and longitudinally divide every piece in turn alongside of the vertebral column. They retain the portion including the head, spine, and tail, giving the smaller half back to the ką'. Thereupon each rainy season moiety distributes slices of meat first to the women and girls of the complementary moiety accompanying them, then to the rest of the men. The women and boys load themselves with the burden, and the active runners race to the village with the logs. After the close of the race there is a dance in the plaza. The women and girls bring cooked food to their comrades' moiety. This terminates the exchange of women. During this period no one resents extramarital sex relations. [837]

527 837 Something similar occurs at the killing of a tame peccary (taitetú), such as takes place at the close of each initiation phase, also of the pepkahą'k. In the steppe, by the brook where the race logs are lying, the peccary is cooked, then both men and women race with the logs, the eastern and western age classes pitted against each other. In this case the wives of the eastern classes attach themselves to the husbands of the western, and vice versa. The unmarried girls choose whichever side they prefer. This applies to initiation; at pepkahą'k the exchange of women obtains between the pepkahą'k, Clown and Falcon societies on the one hand, and the Duck society on the other. The women and girls prepare food for the side to which they have attached themselves, and extramarital sex relations are again permitted. However, it is by no means general: only a small minority of the participants avail themselves of the opportunity and, if so, in so discreet and unobtrusive a manner that the exact extent of indulgence on such occasions is difficult to ascertain. In these circumstances there is no formal segregation and choice of comrades.

527 [731] According to the ancient rule the meipimrą'k begins only after the kõkré log has been erected, which formally closes the vų'tę' season. But in 1936 everything was at sixes and sevens; three epidemics had caused heavy losses, dispersal, and economic derangement. Thus it happened that by July the vų'tę' season, let alone the year's major festival, had not yet been inaugurated, being delayed by nearly three months. At last, however, the opening occurred and tepyarkwá was begun as the year's festival. But on August 15 the vų'tę' ceremonial was prematurely interrupted. On this day a party of hunters were camped eight kilometers north of the village and expected to return by way of a log race, with age classes pitted against each other in accordance with the rules of the season. But when all had assembled at the site of the prospective log manufacturing, Iką'rkate, the atų'k leader, suddenly declared

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that they were surfeited with running as age-class moieties. He ordered his katą'mre team to make two small, hollowed-out logs of burity (katą'mre), and suddenly the hunters, divided according to rainy season moieties, came running into the village with their logs. Neither the logs nor the racers had been properly painted.

In the late afternoon the katą'mre and va'mẽ'ye then arranged a relay race, using as race wands anajá palm midribs with green palm-leaf tufts at the top, which were deposited in the plaza after the race.

As I was leaving the village on August 23, the Indians were just about to abrogate the prematurely begun meipimrą'k ceremonial in order to be able to close the vų'tę' season in proper fashion. Thereupon, I was told, the meipimrą'k régime would be reinstated.

The lodges of the rainy season moieties are the maternal homes of the girl associates of age classes in process of initiation (ketúaye-kuičwę'i or pepyé-kuičwę'i). Of these girls, one is *patrilineally* of the ką'makra, the other patrilineally atų'kmakra. Each rainy season moiety assembles in the house of the girl whose father belongs to it.

THE INITIATION FESTIVALS

INTRODUCTION

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As explained above (p. 90 ff.), all boys undergo two performances each of two distinct ceremonies, ketúaye and pepyé, the repetition being identical with the corresponding first performance. The four ceremonies are spread out over approximately ten years. It is the tribal council that decides when the boys are ready, and it may insist on an extra repetition of either ceremony. Further, it also determines which of the noninitiatory festivals shall be celebrated in any year that has neither initiation ceremony. Thus, the following scheme applied between 1923 and 1935:

1923: pepyé (end of initiation for kaprąnpotikama class)
1924: kõkrį't=Mummers (observed by Snethlage)
1925 ?: tepyarkwá?
1926: first ketúaye (beginning of initiation of põhįtikama)
1927: second ketúaye
1928: pepkahą'k (observed by Fróes Abreu)
1929: first pepyé
1930: third ketúaye (observed by Nimuendajú)
1931: pepkahą'k (observed by Nimuendajú)
1932: tepyarkwá
1933: second pepyé (end of initiation of põhįtikama, observed by Nimuendajú)
1934: first ketúaye (beginning of initiation of kra'tą'kama)
1935: kõkrį't (observed by Nimuendajú)

Both ketúaye and pepyé include an approximately three months' period of seclusion terminating in a final celebration that lasts three days for ketúaye and two weeks for pepyé. However, these two phases of initiation differ greatly as to the character of the segregation. During ketúaye the boys appear in public every afternoon to participate with their relatives in the dancing on the plaza (p. 173). Even apart from this, an exceptional fleeting appearance may be granted them singly (p. 174). The boys of the eastern plaza groups are quartered in a dwelling of corresponding size on the east side of the village circle, the boys of the western plaza groups staying opposite on the west side. Pepyé seclusion is far more rigorous; these initiates, each confined to his own matrilineal home, are neither to be seen nor heard at all by the outside world.

The terminal celebrations of both phases share the pereá hunt with subsequent race, the pąrare race with miniature logs (pl. 35, *d*) and the ceremonial slaying of a

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527 881 tamed peccary (taitetú). The pąrare race and probably the pereá hunt also, with the subsequent race, may be secondary transfers from ketúaye to pepyé.

775 881 769 The principal object of ketúaye is manifestly to bring the boys into contact with the spirits of the dead—a singular association of religion with the socioceremonial organization of this tribe (cf. p. 163). This communion, helpful and necessary for the boys, is fraught with danger for all inexperienced persons. This basic idea finds expression not only in the origin myth, which reports how the several ceremonies and songs of the spirits were furtively seen and overheard, but also in such acts as the feeding of the boys with invisible victuals. Evidently the original belief was that the spirits, lured by their own songs as regularly chanted by the boys, enter the bodies of the novices, who henceforth behave like the spirits themselves until these are removed by ablutions and flagellation. Hence the race with the miniature logs of the spirits.

[771] However, no contemporary Canella clearly grasps this conception. While some informants offer explanations and suggestions wholly in harmony with mine, others search for all sorts of rationalistic or even therapeutic warrants *ad hoc*, exposing the secondary character of their interpretations. These men are honestly convinced that all ceremonial exists for its own sake exclusively and do not bother their heads over questions of origin and significance.

The Apinayé, who in general are somewhat more religiously inclined, wholly lack the notion of a communion between novices and spirits at initiation.

881 582 Quite different is the object of pepyé, said to have originated in the voluntary seclusion of two boys for the express purpose of developing as rapidly as possible into strong young men—not in order to marry, but in order to avenge their parents, killed by a man-eating giant falcon. The avowed purpose of entering as a boy and suddenly emerging as a handsome young man, according to Indian standards of beauty, is too transparent a notion to have escaped even the attention of Neo-brazilian neighbors. Any settler when questioned will at once explain that the Indians shut up their lads in a *chiqueiro* (pigsty) and marry them off after forced feeding designed to enhance their virility.

[884] Actually graduation from the entire initiation cycle was a prerequisite to matrimony, but by no means rendered immediate marriage obligatory. For one thing, the age of the initiates would range from fifteen to twenty-five, while males rarely took a wife before they were twenty. However, the pepyé festival does include instructions about the choice of spouses and married life, and the terminal ceremony, in which their prospective mothers-in-law lead the initiates by a rope, drastically represents the impending union.

Thus, the ketúaye is basically a religious performance, while the pepyé belongs to the social sphere.

881 773 I shall now present the origin myth of the ketúaye and then describe my own observations; this will be followed by parallel data on the pepyé.

KETÚAYE

Origin myths.—The great falcon Hąkti had devoured so many villagers that the survivors decided to flee. A boy who had been delayed in a plantation and knew nothing of this decision was left behind. When at last he went home and entered the deserted village, he saw in the plaza a crowd of dancing and singing figures who were painted red. He was about to walk up to them at once, when the shade of his deceased uncle warned him to go round the outside of the village. The souls of the dead in the plaza, however, had already noticed him. "Look, there is a boy coming!" cried one. "He is mine!" cried another. "No, mine!" exclaimed a third. The boy fled, but outside the settlement he climbed a lofty tree, from which he could survey the plaza. Thence he saw how something was being brought to the souls from the houses. They knelt down, cupped their hands x796 881 owner, in front of which the gifts were stacked up. The total value approximated 150 marks. The inmates sat beside the door speechless, with sullen looks and lowered heads. Now the catcher of the western ketúaye stepped out from our ranks, stooped down over his hands, which were folded over the grip of his sword club as it was resting on the ground, and delivered a soothing speech: this was the compensation for the killed animal, they should no longer be angry, and the women should cease crying. However, the latter immediately burst out crying as soon as he had done speaking. Then we formed a company of eight men abreast and marched in stooping posture, with clubs raised, stamping our feet and with a snapping movement of our mouths, from Hąktokót's residence on from house to house along the circle, always first retreating a little before each. Thus we got to the residence of the senior chief, Ropką', at the south end of the settlement, where we disbanded, though a considerable number continued the circuit on the boulevard, for their amusement, blowing their ocarinas.

796 881 ● 527 On the fifth morning the ketúaye left to bring sororoca (*Heliconia*) leaves for the preparation of meat pies for a wholly unrelated festival, that of the vų'tę', which immediately followed the close of ketúaye. Decorated with black paint, they returned with their load, but not before evening. On the plaza three fires were burning, near which they danced vehemently till late at night, then lying down by the fireplaces with a number of village wantons.

796 881 On the sixth morning a log race was held on the boulevard. Then Ropką', standing before the ketúaye and like them facing west, delivered a speech, in which he conferred on the age class of the ketúaye the name Hąkkama (hąk = falcon). Then he stepped before the next older class and gave them also a new name—pōhį'kama (pohį' = maize). This was the last act of the ketúaye festival.

About this time the smaller boys, whose cycle was not to begin until another four years, were seized by the age-class spirit. The bigger ones among them assembled, numbering fifteen, to form an unofficial age class under the guidance of a young married man who had graduated from all the initiation rites. They gave themselves a class name, and their commandant taught them to plait, shoot, sing, and dance, also admonishing them to be honest and comradely. They went bathing together and arranged their own races and log races; their earnest, zealous mimicry of the full-fledged age classes was a genuine preparation for future membership.

PEPYÉ

881 527 Pepyé is the only ceremony actually *explained* by an origin myth. The ketúaye, kōkrį't, pepkahą'k, and tepyarkwá myths merely report in what circumstances these festivals, already in vogue among other beings, were surreptitiously seen and learnt. The Timbira regard the story of a giant falcon and the pepyé institution based on it as the common and characteristic property of all their tribes. When the aged Krīkateye chief, visiting the President of Brazil, climbed up the steps to the portal of the Ministry of Agriculture in Rio, he was delighted to recognize in the large stone figure of an eagle at the left of the stairway the falcon of the pepyé myth. The Rąmkō'kamekra version follows.

539 881 *Myth.*—Long ago there was a giant falcon, Hąkti, whose nest was on a high, steep rock. Repeatedly he would fly to the Rąmkō'kamekra village, seize an inhabitant, drag him to his eyrie, and devour him. Thus he also ate the daughter of Kokodyo'tómre and her husband. Thereupon one morning this old man left with his wife and two grandsons, Akréi and Kenkunā', to go to a remote farm. At noon Hąkti returned, swooped down, seized an Indian, and carried him off to eat him. Kododyo'tómre and his family saw him flying past with his prey. As the falcon swirled by in its rapid flight, the gourd trumpet, still hanging from the back of the Indian carried in the bird's

*796 guese: rasga mortalha, *Caprimulgus* sp.) and in his flight he severs people's heads with his bill. He lives in a cave. The upper half of his face is red, the lower black. Have you ever seen him?"
539 "Yes," said Kenku'nã', "and we want to kill him, too. But how can we lure him on?" "The same way as with Hąkti," said the grandfather. He built a hut under Kuką'e's nest, and the boys
881 went in. Since Kenku'nã' had already killed the giant falcon, Akrẽi asked to be allowed to take care of Kuką'e. He stepped outside and lured the bird on, which immediately swooped down. Akrẽi was just able to escape indoors, while the bird swept by the hut, neatly cutting off the projecting thatch of the roof. When he got back to his cave, Akrẽi again enticed him and evaded him. But the third time he was too slow: Kuką'e cut through his neck, his head falling to one side and his body to the other.

Kenku'nã' buried the corpse, but laid the head in the fork of a tree where borá bees were nesting. He mourned the dead youth and returned to his grandparents, to whom he reported the calamity. Then he got himself sweet potatoes from the farm for food while traveling and went to look for his emigrant tribesmen, his grandparents remaining in the old village.

As Kenku'nã' was crossing the steppe he got to the ostrich people (kupẽmą̃), who had fired the grass to hunt grasshoppers, lizards, and snakes. They saw him from afar and called him to come. Kenku'nã' inquired for the way to his tribesmen. The ostriches told him that a year had passed since the people had come by, but they knew exactly where they were now living. The route lay through the village of the sariema people (kupẽpyégre, *Cariama cristata*). They asked whether he wanted to eat meat and brought him a package of lizards, which he was to eat after pounding in a mortar together with manioc flat cakes. He declined and went on. He got to the sariemas, who were fishing with timbó (*Paulinia pinnata*); they invited him to join them. He then ate fish with them and inquired for his people. The sariemas answered that they had come through the village and were living near by, only two or three days' journey farther on. Then Kenku'nã' moved on and at last reached the village of his people.

He hid by the spring of the village until he saw approaching the girl engaged to him in infancy. Then he stepped forth and told her who he was. He gave her the flesh of a deer he had killed, then she returned to the village and brought him sweet potatoes. At home she pierced the grass wall by her bedstead, and in the darkness Kenku'nã' sneaked in. But the rustling of the grass when his large body slipped through the hole made the mother of his fiancée take note, though she said nothing. Before daybreak the friends of the girl came to call her to a dance, but her mother said she was unable to join because of her sore eyes. However, one of the friends shed light on the bedstead with a burning wisp of grass and noticed the man, who was unknown to her. When the men gathered in the plaza heard about it, they were furious at the intruder and decided to kill him. The mother of Kenku'nã''s fiancée, however, had recognized him, led him to the plaza, and introduced him, whereupon he told his tale.

After Akrẽi's death and Kenku'nã''s departure, Kokodyo'tómre and his wife also moved on and roved aimlessly over the steppe. Arriving at a mountain, he decided to walk around it to the right and bade his wife go left; they were to meet on the other side. But when they separated they turned into anteaters. Kokodyo'tómre was espied by hunters, who failed to recognize him and killed him. His wife vainly waited for him, crying, on the other side of the mountains, and at last traveled on alone as an anteater.

The gist of this legend is the brothers' entering a retreat in order to accelerate their bodily development, not in order to marry, but in order to avenge their parents. There is no connection with animism.

881 *Pepyé of 1933; capture of novices.*—After the ketúaye of 1930 the boys were still
● 527 considered far from mature enough to close their cycle with a second pepyé in the following year. Hence, three years were allowed to elapse before the ketúaye initi-
123 ates, then properly grown-up young men, were segregated for their final pepyé. I attended the entire festival (April 16 to July 18, 1933) and did my best to promote its correct performance so that I was treated as a quasi honorary member of the organization. Thus, in so far as I was not obliged to collaborate with other social units to which I belong (age class, plaza group, etc.), I was able to associate with the youths as one of their number.

881 Until April 16 only the councilors, whose deliberations were secret, knew the date
527 of opening for the festival. On that day an ordinary log race was arranged, the logs having been made by the wakõ'kama age class on the Brejo da Cebola, two kilometers

X 796 from the village, where the chiefs and councilors also gathered. They sat somewhat apart and discussed unobtrusively the appointment of qualified functionaries for 881 the diverse offices to be filled. Without attracting attention, they summoned a man 527 about thirty years old and made him catcher (hapą'nkate); in contrast to the ketúaye arrangement there is only a single catcher since the pepyé phase lacks the plaza group dichotomy. The choice is also independent of age-class affiliation.

Next a man named Kopkré was appointed the first commandant (mekapónkatepéy), being chosen from the pōhį'kama, that is, from the next older class on the west side since a western age class was being initiated. He was about forty years old and belonged to the čẽpre (an eastern) plaza group (pl. 33, *a*).

Kapẽrtų'k, the deputy commandant (mekapónkatekahą'k) chosen, was one of the oldest of the prospective initiates, possibly twenty-three (pl. 33, *b*), His being already married militated against the ancient rule that young men take a wife only [554] after graduation from all initiation rituals. He had not been prominent in the last ketúaye of his class, but was chosen for his calmness, intelligence, and undisputed oratorical talents. He belonged to the aučét (western) plaza group.

The leaders were of course those of all preceding celebrations of this cycle—Čątú, about eighteen years old, of the kupẽ' plaza group (western) (pl. 33, *c*); and Karą'hį', about twenty, of the čõdn (eastern) (pl. 33, *d*). The girl associates (pepyékuičwę'i) also remained identical with those serving in the preceding seclusion rituals of the cycle. They were both now about sixteen years of age. Horarák (western) was already married—another violation of traditional custom; her colleague, Koté (eastern) was merely engaged (pl. 32, *a*).

Two lads, about fourteen years old, who had served as errand boys (kra'tõ'ipakatire) at the pepkahák of 1931, were selected for the same duties now, that is, as intermediaries between the segregated youths and the outside world. Specifically, they transmit the orders of the commandant. They are not subject to the rules of seclusion.

Of these appointees only the catcher was at once made privy to the council's decisions. He ordered the wakõ'kama (i.e., the class immediately superior to the prospective initiates, hence stationed as their eastern counterparts in the plaza) to fashion a somewhat curved cylindrical club, 76 cm. in length and 5 cm. in thickness. The upper half was painted red, the butt half black, and on this latter was stuck parrot down. (See pl. 35, *c*.) The catcher clandestinely received this weapon and hid it in the prospective house of internment of the eastern class leader Čątú, who—as an exception—in contrast to all other pepyé, was not to be interned in his mother's house but in an avuncular namesake's. This maternal kinsman was living with his wife on the west side of the village, so that the leader of the eastern division was anomalously secluded on the west side, the reason being that he had no living mother or maternal aunt.

With the close of the race and the throwing down of the logs before the house of the eastern vų'tę', the class to be initiated had a precentor called. The girls ranged themselves as usual for a dance, while the youths took positions in front of them.

Suddenly the roof thatch of Čątú's (the uncle's) wife's house parted a little above the lower edge, and the catcher, himself invisible, thrust the ceremonial club (kõkrąčét) through the slit, pointing toward the dancers. No sooner had they caught sight of it than they answered with the piercing quavers of the "payarkwamé" cry, produced by slapping their lips with the palms of their hands. The catcher then withdrew the club and trotted out of the house toward the plaza, where he deposited it on the ground before the line of girls. Forthwith one of the wakõ'kama class, which was standing in its proper place in the plaza, stepped out from among them, seized the club and returned to his mates. From him I later obtained the specimen by barter (pl. 35, *c*).

At this moment the dance ceased and the girls' column was dissolved. But before the prospective initiates could depart the catcher ran to the leader of the east side, gripped his sides with both hands, and uttering the catcher's distinctive "hinkõ'!" call, viz., "hõ! hõ–õ!", he led him to the house of his maternal uncle's wife, where he laid him on the bedstead. Then the catcher at once returned to the plaza, and similarly treated the other class leader, except that on the normal principle he led him to his mother's house. After the leaders all the other novices were similarly treated.

Now the novices had to remain on their platform beds for five days, receiving for food only maize cracked in the ashes. From the moment of their capture they bear the title of "pepyé."

Feeding of pepyé; capture of officers.—Four days later the council ordered the mothers of all boys in seclusion to provide sweet potatoes and green gourds. The mother of the western leader was called to the plaza by the council and personally charged with having firewood and rocks prepared for the earth ovens. All other mothers of pepyé followed her example. When all was ready, the mother of the western leader was once more summoned, and the councilors asked whether she had experienced any pain or other disturbance during her labors. An affirmative reply would break off all preparations and postpone the festival till the next year. In the contrary case, as in 1933, the wood and rocks serve to prepare an earth oven on the inner margin of the boulevard opposite every pepyé mother's house. As soon, then, as the morning dance toward 3:30 A.M. begins, the stacks of wood supporting the rocks are kindled, so that the sweet potatoes and gourds are thoroughly baked by sunrise, ready to be carried indoors by the women.

In the meantime, on a hill one kilometer north of the village, the čõdn (eastern plaza group) have made two race logs of "Maria molle" wood. These "pąrakahą'kre" are about ½-m. long, somewhat less in thickness, and are distinguished from other logs by unique handles projecting centrally in the direction of the axis. With these the eastern run a race against the western plaza groups.

Thereupon the councilors elected old Čarčą, one of their number, to hand the sweet potatoes to the pepyé, but previously the snake doctor Paté in the character of Fish Otter (Tetti) walked about, fingering the sweet potatoes to assure himself of their softness, and reported the results to the council, who sent out another Indian functionary as "a' húare" (bird species called bico de agulha by Neobrazilians) with a painted rod a meter long. With this he ran to the eastern leader's retreat, spitted three sweet potatoes on his wand, and ran back to the plaza, where he slipped them off on a mat. Thus he proceeded in turn at all seclusion huts, whereupon the elders ate the sweet potatoes and approved of them.

In the meantime old To'pó, regarded as "Čąre" (steppe fox), shouting "méo, méo!", ran from oven to oven to collect the tubers purposely left for him there, which he put into a basket hanging from his body.

Not until then did Čárčą go to the eastern leader's seclusion hut, where he shouted twice, whereupon the leader stepped up before him. Čárčą picked up one of the sweet potatoes from the ground, pared it, and allowed the leader to take three bites, advising him to eat very slowly because his throat was no longer used to food. Thus he proceeded, passing from house to house, with all the pepyé, whose mothers then rubbed the boys with a substance consisting of the flesh of the gourds baked jointly with the sweet potatoes.

796 527 881 The catcher next ran to the house of the western pepyé girl, led her out, took her to the plaza, and then brought her back to her home; he followed the same procedure with the eastern girl. Then he brought into seclusion the deputy commandant and finally the two errand boys.

Not until the following morning, when the age classes had assumed their appropriate stations in the plaza, did the council designate the chief commandant, whom the catcher seized and, as with the others, led to a bedstead in his mother's home. To date the pepyé, exclusive of the catcher, numbered thirty-eight.

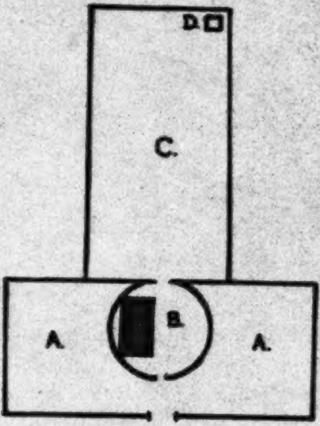

Fig. 13. Pepyé internment. A, living rooms; B, seclusion hut; C, yard; D, latrine.

343 881 *Internment cells; life in seclusion.*—The following morning the men in the plaza grouped themselves according to menkąčą, that is, by the dichotomy of the six plaza divisions (p. 87). Each group was to prepare the retreat for members who were pepyé.

As stated, all pepyé were interned in their maternal homes except for the eastern leader (p. 182). In each house a beehive-shaped hut (ikrére), about 3 m. in diameter and 2 m. high, was put up directly at the rear wall (fig. 13; pl. 34). This cell (fig. 13, *b*) had an anterior door barely 30 cm. in height and closed by a mat from within. The furniture was limited to a bedstead ½-m. high and one or two mats. Behind this cell and the rear wall of the house was a courtyard, kwęk, 5 by 10 m., fenced off to a considerable height with poles and anajá palm fronds. A tiny opening, barely sufficing for the interne to crawl through, connected yard and cell. In one of the outermost nooks of the yard was the latrine (ikwįrčą)—a pit ¾-m. in depth, covered except for a slit with billets of wood, a mat laid across the slit completing the closure.

327 881 As soon as the preparations were completed every pepyé exchanged his resting place on the bedstead of his mother's house for the cell, which was occupied singly or by more individuals, according to the number of pepyé in each house. In Hąktokót's wife's house four persons were interned, including one of the girls.

Henceforth the pepyé remained invisible to their fellow villagers, staying in their cells from April 22 until June 14. They were as inactive as possible. Twice every day, at least, their kinswomen slipped ample food through the miniature front door of the cell. For the time being they were not allowed to bathe or to kindle a fire, though the nights happened to be rather cold then; they were to make shift with a minimum of sleep, were to be neither seen nor heard by anyone; their hair was not cut, and their bodies remained unpainted. They were forbidden to scratch [413] themselves with their fingernails, substituting neatly carved rods (amnyikarĕ'nčą) of miniature sword-club shape, which they usually carried behind their ears (pl. 35, *b*).

Only fellow novices—and even then only clandestinely at night—may enter a pepyé's cell. There is only one exception: since all intercourse with the outside world is effected through the errand boys, these have free access at all hours both to the cells and to the sitting rooms of the house. This statement at least defines the ideal conduct, to which many pepyé rigidly conformed, though others were guilty of frequent transgressions.

X796 527 881 834 Properly the commandant-in-chief ought to punish incontinence, but such disciplinary action was rare and, in general, Kopkré's choice for this important office proved rather unfortunate. Contrary to ancient custom, a fair number of pepyé were already married, and these often sneaked off to their wives instead of spending the night in their cells. Anciently, transgressors with wanton women would have been forced to eat large doses of pepper; and the Apą'nyekra seated the guilty couple publicly in the plaza, which was reckoned a disgrace. In 1933 the commandant could not strictly enforce the rule because he himself was an offender; one night I myself caught not indeed his wife, but a wanton slipping into his cell. The deputy was far more scrupulous; during the entire period of segregation he slunk off only on two or three nights to caress an infant daughter in his young wife's house.

881 527 681 867 At intervals of several days the pepyé secretly met at night in the courtyard of the deputy or, at times, of the commandant—usually because of some gross breach of the rules. The penalty, if inflicted, consisted of flogging by the errand boys acting under the deputy's orders after a secret agreement between him and the commandant. The errand boys accordingly always appear in public with their rods, which are about 1.30 m. long, very thin, and flexible. At the meetings both the commandant and his deputy uttered lengthy admonitions and tirades mainly bearing on the rules of seclusion and marriage. Maintenance of the former insures a successful internment, that is, one by which the pepyé rapidly acquire, in native belief, the strength of men, being enabled to pit themselves in sport against the next older class—a matter of honor. The marriage regulations loom large, because formerly most of the pepyé married soon after the festival and moved into the houses of their mothers-in-law. In matrimony, too, the Indians' supreme rule is to avoid quarrels, let alone brawls, which were expressly branded as setting a bad example for the children, who are to be educated in the traditional mores. A spouse's industry is represented as prerequisite to a happy union, but the harangues also refer to the faults of some girls, such as frivolity, laziness, and mendacity. Further, the lectures extend to the proper behavior toward kin, especially toward the wife's relatives, to the formalized friendship bonds, and to the prerogatives of elders, who are always to be treated with reverence. Thievery and lying are denounced.

183 881 Actual conduct, it must be admitted, more or less deviates from the ideals preached, nevertheless the reality of the standards is certain; and to judge from the spontaneous remarks made to me by various pepyé, at least under the influence of the ceremonial setting, many of the youths took them very seriously.

The commandant is responsible to the council for the demeanor and prosperity of his pepyé, being blamed if the young men fall short of the standards, physical and moral, at the close of their initiation.

881 527 Between 3 A.M. and 10 P.M. the catcher makes about five daily circuits through all the houses of internment. He carries a thick, heavy cane, 1.65 m. in length, not club-fashion under his arm, but so as to lean on it in walking. In the daytime he takes his stand before the cell, at night before the door of the house of retreat, facing the plaza, and remains silent for one or two minutes, both hands laid on the upper end of his cane. Then, rocking his body to and fro, he loudly utters his "hinkõ" cry, "hõ! hõ-õ!" At the last "õ!" he stamps with his right foot, waits immobile for another minute, and then passes on to the next house.

881 531 Besides the scratchers (pl. 35, *b*), shared with all other persons who for some reason have to go into a ceremonial retreat, the pepyé have two objects peculiar to their seclusion and made only during this period.

293 Their club (koppo) is a narrow board, 4–6 cm. wide and 60–112 cm. long, with the

X796 lower end pointed on the sword-club pattern; the upper end, which is sometimes
881 decorated with openwork over a span in length and often very prettily, terminates
in comblike tines 4–6 cm. long (pl. 36). A soft sound is produced by moistening the
531 skin on the inside of the upper arm with the tongue and stroking it back and forth
293 with the tines. This sound is the signal by which the pepyé identify themselves on
mutual visits at night.

A second object often found in the hands of pepyé, but otherwise only rarely
881 (as a children's toy), is the bull-roarer (pīkwęk) (pl. 35, *e*). After nightfall and
● 527 before daybreak the class leader should swing the instrument, the alarm being
passed on from cell to cell to make sure that its inmate has not fallen asleep, in which
534 case the commandant would punish him. This was the subsequent statement of the
commandant who had functioned in 1933, but during that festival the signal was
certainly not given with regularity, but at best now and then. As a participant I
only occasionally heard the booming sound for a few moments and did not learn its
meaning until later. Once I overheard the following dialogue between two pepyé,
which the commandant's explanation elucidates: "Did you hear my bull-roarer this
noon?" "Yes!" "I thought you were asleep."

That the bull-roarer was part of the insignia peculiar to pepyé is indicated by the term pepyetokárĕą in the speech of the Čą'kamekra, nowadays extinct as a separate tribe, whose specimens were considerably larger and of more careful make than their present Rąmkō'kamekra equivalents. It seems clear that the comparative insignificance of the bull-roarer at initiation does not represent its original role.

881 A pepyé in retreat carefully extends the lobes of his ears to fit them for the ear-
304 plugs (kúi) (see pl. 4, *a–c*). From time to time the youths widen this part of the
ear, which is developed into a loop of skin, by inserting both their forefingers and
805 then twisting the loop; at intervals of a few days the plugs are superseded by new
and somewhat bigger ones.

The deputy daily notched a four-edged stick (amkrópupunčą, day counter) to keep tally of the days elapsed since the capture of the pepyé (pl. 35, *g*).

The pepyé passed the time with various diversions: one of them constructed a
881 ventilator wheel, another carved a model of the type of motorboat plying on the
517 Mearim, still others plaited little baskets, bags or mats of anajá grass, which they
used in their subsequent parades and camps.

Sometimes when the village lacked meat, the pepyé furtively marched into the
881, steppe to hunt. On one trip they stole a neighboring farmer's ox; the council by no
685 means sanctioned this procedure, but had the errand boys bring the two chief
malefactors to the plaza and gave them a terrific reprimand, so that they stood there
quite abashed, notwithstanding the supercilious bearing at first assumed by one of
the culprits. At night, before all their fellow novices, the two commandants once
more subjected them to prolix harangues and reprimands.

881 Thus the weeks passed. In the meantime the wakō'kama, being the youngest of
the eastern classes and hence the novices' opponents, gathered daily in the western
527 vų'tę''s house and arranged many log races with the next older pōhį'kama class
camped on the west side. These latter, using the eastern vų'tę' house as their lodge,
belong to the same team league as the pepyé of 1933, whose subsequent position
would also be on the west side of the plaza, to the north of their predecessors on
that side.

Inspection of new leaders.—About 4:30 P.M. on May 23, the pōhį'kama and wakō'kama classes (western and eastern, respectively) began to dance jointly in the plaza, while the hąpín and pinčwę'i of the eastern leader of the pepyé assembled x796 527 881 before his house of seclusion. The hąpín faced the plaza in one line abreast, held their clubs horizontally in front of their bodies, and joined the ends of the clubs so as to form a single pole, which they raised and lowered while dancing. In the meantime the pinčwę'i indulged in their customary mischief before the house. The catcher, accompanied by his pinčwę'i, who from time to time splashed him with water from a gourd bottle, trotted along a radial path from the seclusion house to the dancers in the plaza, halted before them for a moment while rubbing together the palms of his hands, and returned to the house. Soon the two age classes slowly started toward the house. The catcher constantly trotted back and forth in the manner described between them and the house of internment until they reached its door. The hąpín allowed access to the two groups, which entered and, singing, took positions to the right and left of the door, facing the cell. Now the novice's maternal uncle stepped forth and three times uttered a very loud, piercing yell. Forthwith the eastern leader's face appeared at a tiny window, hitherto closed with a mat on the inside, and immediately disappeared again behind the mat; the window had been specially left for this purpose in the front wall of the cell. The age classes then returned to the plaza, but the hąpín and pinčwę'i of the novices' western class leader ran along the boulevard to his seclusion house, where the same ceremony was repeated. Then the two leaders' kinswomen put food outside the officers' houses of seclusion, and the leaders' hąpín and pinčwę'i distributed it among themselves.

Four days later, on May 27, at the same hour, the wakō'kama class assembled in the plaza. They sat down in two lines facing the seclusion house of the eastern leader. The latter's uncle, who is also the commandant of the wakō'kama, and a hornblower sat in the rear, the class leader, Yóro, and a precentor with a rattle (pl. 32, *b*, *c*) were seated in the front row, while the catcher went from house to house, uttering his hinkō call, whereupon he led them to the eastern leader's seclusion house in the manner followed at the first inspection. However, this time they halted before the house; only the uncle entered and three times uttered the piercing yell. At once the grass of the front wall of the cell opened, rendering visible the leader's entire figure. The catcher approached, seized him by the hair, and pulled him out, whereupon two of his hąpín seized him by his right and left arm, respectively, and led him near the house door, whence he hurried back into his cell. After the wakō'kama had returned to the plaza, the western leader was inspected with similar ceremony.

Procession with mats; ablutions.—Shortly before sunset the eastern leader left his seclusion house. On the path along the rear of the dwellings he walked west and south around the village, carrying only a flat club under his arm. Ahead of him walked Yóro (the wakō'kama leader), holding the ceremonial pepyé lance (pl. 31, *c*, *d*) made by the eastern leader's maternal uncle; this emblem he moved to and fro in front of him as though removing obstacles from his path. As soon as the pair had [285] walked past, the pepyé came out of all their retreats and followed behind. All of them had stuck their flat clubs as handles into anajá grass mats of more than a man's height; and they covered their left side with these huge shields so that they themselves remained quite invisible to the villagers, who could see only the itinerant mats headed by the two class leaders.

After the completed circuit the parade entered the eastern leader's yard, while the wakō'kama pounced upon a big meat pie offered to them there, each member trying to obtain a piece. In the meantime the novices remained immobile behind the mats, but after the departure of the wakō'kama they removed their clubs from the mats, which were put on the ground, and sat down on them. The eastern leader

X796 pushed the ceremonial lance into the ground in their midst and in a speech admonished them to be orderly and obedient.

● 527 881 At nightfall the pepyé of the atų'k moiety, using the path outside the house circle, dispersed to their several huts; but the pepyé of the ką' moiety waited until daybreak, since night belongs to the atų'k and the daytime to the ką'.

Before sunrise all pepyé received through the fence of their yard enormous gourd bottles specially made and filled with water by their kinswomen on the previous evening. With this they washed themselves for the first time since their capture. [515] Henceforth the ablutions, which are designed to promote rapid growth recur twice daily.

The monkeys' visit.—On June 21, at 5:30 P.M., the wakõ'kama and the unofficial 527 881 536 class of the as yet uninitiated pąntų'ktĭkama boys assembled in the plaza with half a dozen young wantons. They painted their bodies black, drew wide, black horizontal stripes above the eyes, and tied bast tails with spirally coiled ends to the back of their belts, thus simulating monkeys (kukóe). Suddenly they hurled themselves on all fours, and thus sped in a dense troop along the radial path to the eastern leader's house of retreat. Crying like monkeys, grimacing and gesticulating, they took the yard by storm, some climbing the lofty fence with truly simian agility, while others broke through it. In every yard food had been deposited in readiness for them, and they at once took it along. After wildly carrying on their antics in the first house, the whole mad four-legged company rushed to the next, and so on from the west northward round the entire circle. When this performance was over two "nocturnal monkeys" (*Aotus trivirgatus*, Humboldt) appeared in the dark and also received some food. The pepyé remained in their cells hidden from the monkeys throughout the whole of this act.

527 881 *Inspection of pepyé.*—On July 12 all the men whose sisters' sons were in the pepyé seclusion, assembled in the plaza, ranging themselves by plaza groups. When all were present, the six companies amid loud shouting, suddenly dashed off simultaneously, each to the retreat of some member's nephew. Invading the yard by way of the fence, they took up positions in front of the rear door of the cell. The novice's uncle stepped ahead of the others and uttered three loud and piercing yells, whereupon the boy called came crawling out of the tiny exit. No sooner had he appeared, however, than his uncle bawled at him anew, chasing him in again. In this fashion each plaza group treated all the affiliated pepyé, then they returned to their plaza stations and withdrew after a given signal.

Notwithstanding the lightning rapidity of this inspection, everyone was bound to be impressed with the physical transformation of the novices during their three months' internment. With only a few exceptions they had grown perceptibly stouter [145] and their skin, unaffected by either sunshine or paint, often displayed amazingly light tints.

Suspension of internment.—Two days later, on July 14, long before daybreak, the catcher continually made his circuit, uttering his hinkõ' cry. The pepyé, on the other hand, painted themselves from head to foot with the yellow pigment from the urucú root. On this background they then added in red urucú paint, the lines identifying them as ką' or atų'k, respectively.

At 5:30 A.M. the scene of the catcher and the wakõ'kama performed on the afternoon of May 27 was repeated: the former, running back and forth, conducted the class to the retreat of the eastern leader, whom he pulled out by his hair. At once the novice's uncle approached, screaming at his nephew to keep still, that he himself had experienced the same treatment in his day and had gladly submitted to it. In

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the meantime the pepyé's sister several times stroked his hair with the rod comb exclusively designed for this ceremony, finally turning it over to one of the novice's near-by pinčwę'i, who hung it down her back by a neck cord. The catcher now led the pepyé to the door of the house, while his sister was allowed to choose whatever two men she pleased from the crowd of spectators, pulling them along by their hair and placing one on each side of her brother. The sisters are prone to select men with whom they are enjoying or wish to enjoy intimate relations. The two men catch hold of the novice under his arms and conduct him toward the right around the boulevard, his pinčwę'i women taking precedence and, as always in these circumstances, indulging in drollery, while the entire populace accompanies the parade. As the procession moves along the boulevard, three or four anajá palm fronds are hurriedly planted in the ground in front of the house of seclusion and a mat is laid in front, while the pepyé's mother scatters fruits and other victuals in the space before the house. Meanwhile the parade had reached the house façade diametrically opposite to the house of seclusion. At this moment all participants raced transversely across the plaza back to the seclusion house, where each tried to snatch up all he could of the food scattered on the ground. The two men guiding the eastern leader now took him on their shoulders, each alternately carrying him to the mat under the palm fronds, where they set him down.

The same procedure was followed with all the pepyé except the commandant, who for the time being remained interned. However, only the two leaders and the two girl associates were carried to their retreats, the rest being led back afoot. But several pepyé tore themselves free and raced with the crowd unless recaptured on the way. Three or four times the men refrained from racing, leaving the scattered fruits for the women. This performance continued until all the pepyé were standing on the boulevard on the mat under the palm fronds in front of their several retreats.

Next four men successively made the circuit of the village. First came Koipō'ro, the pōhį'kama commandant, who danced before every retreat with outstretched arms and sang a song informing the novices' mothers and sisters that the internment was herewith ended. Second came old To'pó, who halted before each pepyé, rubbed his own left armpit with his right hand, then stroked the novice's face in the manner customary at the ketúaye (p. 177). Third, the snake doctor, Paté, examined the eyes of all novices to ascertain whether any of them was destined to die soon, which he supposedly discovers from the luster and expression of their eyes. Finally, Pąnhí, a young wakō'kama, did not stop anywhere until he got to the eastern leader's retreat, where he loudly shouted across the plaza. Thereupon all the pepyé, who had until then been standing motionless on their mats, disappeared into their retreats.

In the evening the eastern leader, holding the pepyé lance, and walking along the ring around the back of the houses, assembled all the pepyé, who followed him, shielding themselves with their mats from the gaze of the villagers. Moving from house to house, they received food from their mothers and sisters, which they took to a spot one hundred meters beyond the houses in the steppe to the north. There, masked by chopped-off bundles of twigs held in front of them, To'pó and the other prókama elders were lying in ambush. The eastern leader of the pepyé thrust his lance into the ground, while his followers formed a circle and laid the food on the ground as though wishing to eat here. But To'pó screamed at them that this was no time for eating, that they had better go to sleep at once. Immediately the pepyé abandoned the lance and the food to depart for a spot cleared of grass and shrubbery southwest of the village, about two hundred meters from the boulevard; there they rested during the night on their mats—the first night spent outside of their cells.

X796 On the same day I was presented with the pepyé lance; my "sister" Kra'napę'n carried it to the plaza and before the assembled people dubbed it "Patkró."

● 527 881 *Singing lessons.*—With the beginning of daybreak (July 15) the pepyé left their nocturnal camp for a spot in the woods along the Ribeirão Santo Estevão bank, three hundred meters above the road leading westward out of the village. There they cleared an area of about twelve square meters and made themselves at home. Early in the morning the chiefs, the precentor Partói, and a number of women went thither, headed by old To'pó, who sang, carrying his staff. I was invited to join the party.

The pepyé were seated on the ground in a circle, waiting for us, the girl associates lying a little to one side. We sat down on the east side of the circle. The women were holding themselves aloof. Everyone made a serious face, and at most soft whispering was audible. Four pepyé with rods in their hands stood guard among those seated to forestall improper conduct; they bear the title mehamárkate or ko'túmre.

527 881 533 539 To'pó stepped inside the circle. Facing east, leaning his hands on his staff and rocking his body back and forth, he intoned the iyeõ' chant, which is sung exclusively at pepyé:

iyeõ' iyeõ'! marére rererét hikoikwákam
! ! ! hummingbird in my sky
iyeõ' iyeõ'! marére ritere ame xikratúm
! ! ! my grandfather

Then he gave his staff to the deputy, who repeated the song in the same posture. Thus all the pepyé, successively stepping within the circle, sang the iyeõ' chant, the errand boys and the girl associates last of all. Chief Hąktokót, the supreme authority on initiations, sat beside me, criticizing the rendition. A man named Tepyêt was undoubtedly the best singer.

Now the precentor stepped into the circle and intoned another song, which the two leaders repeated first, followed successively by all the other pepyé.

Next the two girls were taught the avaitipó series of three songs, which is also peculiar to this phase of initiation. Their two colleagues, the women once associated in the same way with the next older (wakõ'kama) class, who had come along for this very purpose, stepped beside them, while the deputy with a dance rattle joined the precentor, forming a sextet.

1. kačḗre hipoktokwę' (heard in the song as : kače-a-ri iipokokwehe).
The star causes a conflagration.

This refers to Halley's comet in 1910, for the Indians were afraid that its tail would set the world afire. The men danced ahead with their rattles, behind them the girls abreast of one another. Raising and lowering the spread-out and slightly curved index and middle fingers of both their hands to about the height of the chest, they danced up and down for a while.

2. ipéyre kenkana nõ.
The duck on the stone lies.

At this song the men faced the girls; all danced simultaneously toward the center and again backward so as to separate, at the same time swinging their arms to and fro in front of their bodies and jerking their feet forward.

3. avar tik pó tepre
anajá palm belly wide and flat small fish
avar tik pó vetre
anajá belly wide and flat lizard

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This is the avaitipó chant proper, for in the singing the two initial words are pronounced avaitipó. The arrangement and step of the dancers were those of the second chant, but the performers did not swing their arms and legs. This closed the singing lesson.

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Races; cementing of formal friendship; chants.—After the departure of all visitors, the pepyé arranged a race with the miniature pąrare logs, 25 cm. long, which the catcher had secretly made for them and given to the eastern leader (pl. 35, *d*). Since no other age class was available as a rival team and the season precluded a division into ką' and atų'k, the novices split up according to eastern and western plaza moieties. For the time being the pepyé are able to run only with the pąrare—and even with these only in secret, for the wakõ'kama would not permit the manufacture of true full-sized race logs, and would confiscate even the pąrare if they should discover them.

In the afternoon, shortly before sunset, the pepyé marched back from their camp by the brook to the village, where they collected food in their mothers' houses. Henceforth this occurred daily at this hour.

On the same day the cells and fences of all pepyé retreats were dismantled.

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Very early on the morning of July 17, Chief Kukrãčą', old Koyapą', the catcher, and an Indian named Korã' went to the pepyé camp. They halted in the steppe on a path parallel to the edge of the wood and leading upstream, while the catcher went to call the pepyé camped near by. These appeared, passed by without a word, and vanished except for the two girls, who stayed behind. I do not know how far they walked. In the meantime Korã' made two brooms of pau de leite twigs, which he handed to the girls, who expectantly took their stand across the path. Not long after this the blast of horns resounded, and the pepyé, their bodies and especially their faces blackened with charcoal, came rushing up, headed by the champion singer, Tepyét. At once the newcomers, propping their hands on their knees, took places before the girls, who dealt their backs several lashes with the broom, allegedly to purge them of flabbiness. The deputy, who had long ago reached the goal, ran back to fetch the last one of the racers. Running behind him, he constantly lashed his legs and back with the pau de leite twigs, and the vexed expression of his face clearly indicated his sense of responsibility for the disgrace of having such a weakling in his class.

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His annoyance found vent in a long and vehement tirade delivered at his age mates, ranged about him in a semicircle. He ascribed the poor result of the race to their failure, despite all his admonitions, to obey the rules of seclusion, and bitterly complained of their disobedience. At last he himself joined the semicircle, and old Koyapą' now held forth in a second harangue, alleging among other things that only Tepyét had rigidly adhered to the regulations, which was why he had beaten all the other runners. This, however, was a very inadequate statement of the facts, for Tepyét had been one of the cattle lifters and not long before had been threatened with the pepper penalty for spending every night with his pretty young fiancée Yarpót rather than in his cell.

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Somewhat abashed, the pepyé marched to their camp in the woods by the stream, where they crowded about a water hole in order to cement the two types of formal friendship (p. 100 ff.). All pepyé formed several alliances of these types among themselves. For my own hąpín I acquired the two class leaders, the errand boys, the unavoidable Tepyét, and two others; the deputy and three others became my kwų'nó; and of the two girls, Horarák became my pinčwę'i and Koté my kwų'nõ'.

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After the establishment of formal friendships, a many-branched tree was chosen

*796 527 881 in the pepyé camp, an old race log was set up under it, and about one meter above it a crossbeam was tied to the trunk for a rung, making it easy to climb to the top. Then, one at a time, the pepyé all climbed up about ten meters among the branches, where each singly sang the iyeõ' chant "like the falcon which sits in a tree and utters its call." Then the two girls with two companions as precentors sang the avaitipó series in the camp.

In the evening, after collecting food from their mothers' homes, the pepyé took it to the resting place southwest of the village, where they had spent their first night after seclusion was suspended. Toward 8 P.M., after the dance in the plaza, when all was quiet, they stood up in a circle there, the two girls in the center and the precentor Partói in front of them. Rhythmically rocking their bodies from right to left, they thus sang with brief intermissions till daybreak (July 18). A number of kinswomen were sitting or lying by fireplaces outside the singers' circle. At the close of each song two or three of the older pepyé would always bawl into the darkness these words: "There thou liest on the ground, race log, nevertheless I shall carry thee to the village!" The younger ones would shout, "Now thou art still feeding, pereá, but soon thou wilt be in my power!" At daybreak they return to the camp by the wooded bank.

Hunt and race; pó payments.—A little later the old prókama went to a site near the creek about one kilometer above the village. Many women and girls assembled there by an oven in which they were baking sweet potatoes and cará. In the meantime the pepyé were on a hunting trip with two bows specially made by their leaders' maternal uncles. They killed a pereá and a small bird, put their kill into the little baskets presented to the girl associates by their maternal uncles, and with the blowing of horns marched in single file toward the site of the oven. They surrounded the baked fruit lying about on the ground, but the prókama again yelled at them from their ambush of branches, whereupon the two girls at once deposited the baskets, and the leaders their bows and arrows; then all marched upstream and disappeared. The two girls remained behind and, armed with pau de leite branches, again took up positions transversely across the road. Before them were two huge new gourd bowls (kratti) decorated with pendants of beads; the water inside the containers had been perfumed with pulverized leaves of the negra mina tree. In addition there was a gourd bowl filled with an infusion of the scraped wood of the sucupira tree, which has a horribly bitter taste. This tree is reckoned by the Timbira as the quintessence of strength and toughness. [824]

The pepyé came running back decorated with black paint, Tepyét in his atų'k decorative paint again outdistancing the rest. The girls administered the usual blows on the back and were about to pour perfumed water from the hollows of their palms on the runners' heads, but Tepyét curtly emptied the bowls. However, he and all the pepyé drank of the sucupira infusion.

[123] Then they returned to their camp, where they slept part of the afternoon. The rest of the day was spent in making earplugs and the like in order to pass the time. They also made me tell tales of other tribes, for my new hąpín and kwų'nõ' had laid claim to me and would not let me go until it was time for us jointly to visit the village for a food collection.

Toward evening specially prepared hampers (kái) were set up in front of all the late houses of seclusion. They were more than filled with vegetable produce reaching up to a man's height. To make this possible, they extended the walls of the basket upward by inserting and interlacing palm rachises, formed into a pointed funnel open at the top and kept in shape by burity bast rings. To keep the baskets from x796 • 527 881 tipping over, they tied them to rectangular frames of poles planted in the ground. The cultivated fruits, overflowing the edge of the hampers, constituted the pó, that is, the initiates' kinswomen's payment to the plaza groups that had erected and equipped the cells. In front of every house there were as many hampers as there had been pepyé in seclusion there.

Suspension of commandant's seclusion.—From July 14 to 18 the commandant was the only pepyé still in retreat. On the 18th the pepyé, after collecting food from their mothers' homes, marched about one hundred and fifty meters outside the village along the road going west. On the left of the route they built a fire, by which the two girls and the leaders lay down, while the rest—including the deputy—sat down in a circle in the middle of the street. In the center of the circle a burity stick, 1½ m. long, was stuck into the ground. Three ko'túmre with rods were standing among the sitters. One after another stepped into the center, laid his hands on the top of the stick, and softly uttered approximately these words: "Be careful! Our commandant is surely already making preparations. Obey his commands lest he beat us!" This was kept up, in turn, from nightfall until late at night.

At intervals of a few minutes one of the errand boys ran to the commandant's hut of seclusion to ask whether he was not coming soon. He answered brusquely that he wanted to be let alone and would come later. The boy trotted back with the message to the assembled pepyé, who at once sent his colleague on the same mission and with the same result. This continued till 11 P.M. At that hour the commandant quite abruptly and furtively rose, taking his rod, and sneaked unseen through the rear exit to the circle of pepyé sitting in the dark. Suddenly he jumped at them, crying, "You called me, and now you are all asleep!" The pepyé dispersed, and the commandant lashed the ground behind them with his whip, pulled the burity stick out of the ground, and hurled it aside. Then his deputy took him by the hand and led him some distance back on the road he had come.

While the deputy was returning to the pepyé, his superior walked back alone along the boulevard to his retreat, before which his kinswomen, hąpín, and pinčwę'i [292] were waiting to decorate him. They tied two cloths folded together into bands round the middle of his body and made another into a forehead band. On his back he was made to wear a beaded cord with a little mirror. He wore a thick girdle of white cotton cords and two sashes of like material crossing each other on the chest. To each sash was fastened a cord 30 m. long, stretched and held on either side by ten persons of both sexes. Directly by the commandant stood one hąpín at each side, holding the cord with one hand and supporting the commandant's outstretched arm with the other. Ahead of the commandant and at his side walked his sister's daughter, Kentapí, holding a gourd bottle filled with water and a cloth for wiping off the perspiration. The entire group was facing the seclusion house and moved, laterally without change of front, in a westerly direction round the boulevard from the commandant's retreat, which lay at the north end of the settlement.

The commandant extended his arms, spread his legs apart, turned his head left, and began rocking his body back and forth as though about to give it a leftward swing. At last he drew his right leg beside his left, then separated the left leg again, and thus, accompanied by all his followers, he moved slowly sideways from the retreat (a) toward the neighboring house (b). At first he sang the catcher's "hō! hō-ō!", then another song. From (b) he first returned to (a), then passed on to (c), returned to (b), advanced to (d), etc., thus boxing the compass of the circle. During this tour huge fires were kindled with the plentiful fuel yielded by the palm grass of the dismantled cells.

x796 The commandant, who had developed appreciable adipose tissue in seclusion, was
● 527 perspiring pitiably; from time to time his niece handed him the water bottle, wiped
off his perspiration, and massaged his legs whenever he seemed worn out. He was
881 obviously entirely exhausted when at 3 A.M. (July 19) he finally completed the
circuit at his retreat, where his pinĕwę'i divested him of his ornaments, now her
property, with which she refused to part despite all my inducements. The commandant
entered the house to sleep—no longer in his cell, which was soon after
removed, but on a platform bed in his sister Yatkré's sitting room.

Races; painting of pepyé.—On the same morning the men assembled in the plaza before sunrise, ranging themselves by plaza groups. On the previous day the eastern leader of the pepyé had handed the two miniature race logs (pąrare) to the commandant of the pōhį'kama class, which, like the pepyé, is of the western age-class moiety, hence of the same racing team. Though the commandant had secretly buried the logs in the plaza, a member of the kupẽ' plaza group mysteriously unearthed them, notwithstanding the wakō'kama commandant's wife's sitting on the spot. At once hiding the pąrare in his armpit, he departed; and accompanied by all, including the pepyé, he went to a site one and a half kilometers away, beyond the Santo Estevão Creek. The pepyé, who had at first crowded round the bearer, now dispersed into relay groups along the route, so that only their two leaders, wearing their occipital fan of tail feathers (pąnyapį'; see pl. 35, *a*), accompanied the other classes to the starting point for the race. There each of the two took one pąrare, knelt down with it, and sang.

The race toward the village then started, the western classes—pōhį'kama and pepyé—running on the right side of the track against the eastern classes—wakō'kama and pąntųktíkama (uninitiated boys)—on the left. The latter won—thanks to Čąré, who once more proved the tribal champion. As always in pąrare races, the pepyé girls and their predecessors were stationed across the course and welcomed the runners with the customary flogging and pouring of water over their heads (pl. 30, *b*). Finally entered the pepyé leaders, carried astride the shoulders of two men and set down before the girls without flagellation or ablution.

At once the six plaza groups carried off the baskets of fruits allotted to each,
bringing them from their former retreats to the plaza, where each group poured
out the contents on their own stance, sorted, and distributed them. It is no easy
task to distribute anything among nearly a dozen persons if the numerals in one's
[802] tongue do not extend beyond four. This accounts for the distributor, Koipō'ro,
scratching his head in despair and also for the number of raised forefingers on this
occasion.

After the initiates' first haircut in three months, they were painted blue-black with genipa and red with urucú. The design differs according to one's plaza group. It consists of a band a hand's breadth in width with figures repeated on both sides of the body front, from the cheeks down to the middle of the thighs, with narrow ramifications over the front side of the arms.

The pepyé ranged themselves on the west side of the village, to the right and left
302 of their eastern leader's retreat, in six companies corresponding to the plaza groups;
881 they were holding burity sticks (pure) 4–5 m. long. The men, grouped on the same
527 principle in the plaza, ran toward the pepyé, carried off those of their own affiliation,
and took them to the appropriate group assembly house, where they were
painted. The commandant again formed an exception, being painted not in his own
group's (čēpre) lodge, but in his sister's house, his place of internment.

While being thus decorated, a pepyé lies motionless on his back, resting on a mat, x796 302 527 881 with any sort of support for his head and the hollows of his knees. For lines to be drawn, the genipa is laid on with cotton wads attached to the tips of little rods, whereas dots are put on with comblike wooden stamps (mehō'kčą) (pl. 35, *f*). Any older member of the plaza group, preferably the pepyé's hąpín, will undertake the job, at which one or two young women or girls always assist; for though the plaza groups have no regular women members, some of the members' young kinswomen are always in attendance.

527 881 The genipa decoration yields rather pretty effects, but being executed with great care it begins to pall, so that a fair number of pepyé fell asleep on their mats as I did myself, and had to be awakened when the work of art was done. Then the subject would make his body rigid, allowing a classmate to raise his head and to help him up lest the movements of his limbs blur the moist drawing. After the genipa juice had grown tolerably dry, the decoration was completed with red urucú.

[539] In the meantime Pąnhí, who had given the signal for the novices' retreat into their cells on July 14, sang a song before each house in turn:

Yayumri rö'rohö kam nö
? babassu leaf on it lies

When all plaza groups had completed the decoration of their pepyé, they simultaneously marched out of their meeting places holding urucú-stained "pure" poles, proceeded toward the plaza, where they formed a circle, with the two pepyé girls and a precentor facing each other in the center. The commandant was brought from his sister's house, but halted outside the circle with his deputy and the catcher. Thus they danced and sang two chants, then moved on to the čëpre lodge, situated very nearly at the east point of the village and diametrically opposite the eastern leader's one-time retreat. While they continued chanting inside the house, two of their number went around the boulevard, assembling girls and young women by letting them touch the "pure" poles, by which they led them behind themselves. When all were together in the čëpre lodge, they jointly departed singing and dancing around the boulevard to the east leader's one-time retreat, and thence to the plaza. The commandant and his deputy walked in step behind the dancers.

In the meantime the as yet uninitiated pąntų'ktíkama boys had assembled in front of their vų'tę̨ (the western one, since they with the wakō'kama occupy the east side of the plaza). The pepyé now suddenly ran in a body toward these boys as though about to call them to a race, but just as abruptly faced about to return to the plaza. Then they similarly ran to their own vų'tę̨'s house (the eastern one, for the pepyé are stationed beside the pō'híkama on the west side of the plaza). There they picked up a pair of old race logs as though about to race with them, but after a few steps they threw them away. At last they trotted back to the western vų'tę̨'s home and by couples began to race the pąntų'ktíkama from the space in front of the house to the plaza. Naturally the pepyé invariably won, but the comical seriousness [522] and intense zeal of the little boys—some of them under six years of age—in trying to minimize the distance between them and their opponents aroused the councilors' mirth as well as their benevolent appreciation.

Immediately after this race the pepyé and wakō'kama raced three times around the boulevard with two logs already previously used. At first the former seemed about to emerge as victors, but finally the older group triumphed by virtue of their greater endurance.

Pepyé camp; dances; log race.—Now the pepyé jointly went to the Santo Estevão woods, where they cut off large bunches of anajá fronds and dragged them to the plaza. There, round a fireplace, they arranged a site, which henceforth served

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as a camp at night; it lay in the northwest part of the plaza, their proper place a a newly initiated class—next to the pōhį'kama and opposite the station of th pąntų'ktíkama.

The sun was low when the pepyé girls with their predecessors of 1913 stepped out of the eastern leader's recent house of retreat. They were wearing white wristbands with thick cotton tassels and on their backs a little gourd bowl (kratre) with beaded pendant was hanging from a cord. Headed by an elderly precentor and a pepyé, both of whom were provided with dance rattles, they slowly moved toward the plaza, singing the Halley-comet chant, while a pepyé with a "pure" pole was constantly running between them and the plaza. This running back and forth is the ceremonial way of conducting people to a definite place for a public performance. On the plaza they took up their positions and sang the two other avaitipó chants. During these songs the new initiates' kin set down on the ground in their midst an iron cooking pot and diverse other gifts; the commandant added his bushknife with its leather sheath. After the chanting the girls' decoration was removed and, with the other presents, distributed among their pinčwę'i.

The pepyé, holding their "pure" poles, split up according to plaza groups, each of the six companies successively marching to the maternal homes of all their pepyé members, to receive bowls of food, with which they returned to their plaza site. Then they leaned their poles against a specially fixed horizontal beam resting on two forked branches, collected together all the food obtained, and waited for the deputy to distribute it. After segregating a goodly portion for the senate, he had one of his party carry it to the elders, while the pepyé jointly ate in their camp, a scene henceforth of daily occurrence at this hour.

After nightfall women and girls danced in the plaza as usual, the pepyé never participating at that time, but only before sunrise.

This took place for the first time on the next morning (July 21); as early as 3 A.M. the pepyé and wakō'kama were dancing in the plaza before the right and left wings, respectively, of the singing women and girls. The commandant and deputy of the pepyé stood behind their class and did not dance. The pōhį'kama and the little boys' class likewise were mere spectators from their stations. Noting that one of their female age mates, Ačukwę'i, was absent from the dancers' line, all the pepyé, including the commandant and deputy, ran to the truant's home, awakened her and took her to the dance ground.

Before sunrise the wakō'kama raced with logs against the pōhį'kama. Then the pepyé went to their vų'tę''s house, to fashion their second decorative outfit, not of babassu strips this time, but plaited of burity bast and comprising two-pointed forehead bands, armlets, wristlets, and sashes. The wakō'kama in the meantime assembled in the other vų'tę''s house. When their grass decoration was finished, the pepyé donned it and danced the mepikén dance around the boulevard. Abreast of one another in a long line, they clasped each other's shoulders, facing the houses. Loudly singing, they leaped in exact time, alternately toward the left forward and toward the left backward, so that the entire line slowly moved leftward round the boulevard. The movements were executed with such marvelous precision and uniformity as to produce a harmonious, unified effect for the long line of thirty-seven dancers. The commandant walked slowly behind them.

Then the wakō'kama, accompanied by many women and girls carrying gourd bottles with water to refresh the racers, marched to a site on the Santo Estevão, three kilometers to the northwest, where for several days past they had fashioned two enormous burity logs and soaked them in water to increase their weight. For

x796 this race was to prove to the pepyé that they were far from being as yet their elders' peers. But on examining the logs, the wakõ'kama found them too heavy even for
527 themselves, so that a section of the length of a span was chopped off each stump.
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Meanwhile the pepyé assembled in the plaza, where their kin decorated them with folded cloths tied round their girdles and foreheads, with beaded cords and sashes of green tucum cords with diverse pendants. But hardly had they put on this outfit and got moving in order to follow the wakõ'kama to the starting place for the race, when at the very exit of the village their pinčwę'i intercepted them in order to remove all these ornaments.

In the meantime the wakõ'kama had deposited the two logs on the road beside each other and danced behind them, singing with arms raised in the manner customary for a challenging team expecting their opponents. No sooner had these arrived than both teams picked up their logs without delay and dashed ahead. The pepyé made desperate efforts and—thanks to their western allies of the põhį'kama class—they succeeded in getting their log to the goal first. Though evidently exhausted by their excessive exertions, they refused to give any evidence of their condition and danced the mepikén dance before going for a bath.

Killing of a wild pig.—Toward sunset they reappeared in formation and danced around the boulevard in sections of from four to five members all abreast, stamping their feet and humming "like hummingbirds in flight." This announced to the owner of the tame taitetú pig destined for the pepyé banquet that her pet was to be killed on the following morning.

At daybreak of July 21 this was done in the usual manner. The pepyé and the other western classes (põhį'kama and prókama) marched with the slain animal to a hut in a farm on the Brejo da Cebola, which empties into the Santo Estevão from the left, one and a half kilometers from the village. For lack of a second taitetú, the eastern classes (wakõ'kama, kukrų'tkama, and kukóekama) killed a domestic pig, which was prepared for them in their vų'tę''s home. As always on such occasions, the kinswomen of the eastern age classes accompanied the western classes, and vice versa.

When the pepyé had crossed the Santo Estevão on their way, their commandant made them halt once more and form their line, whereupon he again admonished them and laid down the rules. Arrived at their destination, the pepyé got anajá leaves, which they spread out for bedding in the open rancho. However, none was allowed to fall asleep; anyone beginning to nod was roused by a gentle lash of the ko'túmre's rod. They spent the time storytelling and being painted with urucú by the girl associates. A little aside from them old To'pó (prókama) told the rest tales of ancient days, while the women and girls fixed the earth oven, dissected the taitetú, and made meat pies, of which the pepyé, however, received nothing.

In the afternoon, during the distribution of the pies, blasts on horns heralded the arrival of the wakõ'kama. On this signal the pepyé and a group of eleven girls at once went some distance to the spot where one pair of logs was lying ready for the men and another for the girls. While the pepyé and the girls of their team were dancing behind the logs with raised arms, the wakõ'kama—also accompanied by eleven girls—arrived, and the race started at once. First the two groups of girls took up their logs, the men following some distance behind, but, as always, reaching the goal first. Both the pepyé and their girls' team were beaten. The former had clearly not yet recovered from the tremendous exertions connected with the previous day's victory. Even before the race many complained of pains in their shoulders and legs. Nevertheless, they danced in the plaza after the race.

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Toward evening the two pigs were paid for in the usual fashion. The western age classes, with the pepyé, marched clockwise, the eastern classes contraclockwise, around the boulevard, receiving gifts from each one's maternal home as they passed by, these forming a contribution toward the indemnity. After completing the collection, they moved before the house of the owner of the pigs, depositing everything in one heap. Thereupon the pepyé and their racing allies, panting "like exhausted deer" and now and then stamping their feet, danced toward their plaza site, while the wakō'kama indulged in all sorts of buffoonery outside their vų'tę''s house. They played at "travelers' return": two lads, carrying baskets full of offal and rubbish, came pretending to bring back gifts from the government on returning from a begging trip to the capital. [524] Formally received by the others, they unpacked their treasures, such as an old rag, a rusty tin can, etc., and amid general merriment distributed them among those present.

Further races; naming of classes; discharge of girls and errand boys.—On the morning of July 22 the pepyé first of all danced in the plaza; later they ran another log race against the wakō'kama, but were once more defeated.

After dark they again danced in front of the house of their vų'tę. I came up, holding the ceremonial lance given me by the prókama, and they complained bitterly of the small number of girls who had come to their performance, notwithstanding the recruiting by two members sent round about the village to summon them. They begged me to fetch the truants with my ceremonial lance, which I did.

The next day (July 23) the pepyé and wakō'kama ran log races both in the morning and afternoon. In the interval and in the evening the pepyé danced before their vų'tę''s house.

On the morning of July 24 the pepyé and wakō'kama ran a relay race around the boulevard, then the former retired to the steppe, where for the first time since the opening of the festival they painted themselves with rubber latex and powdered charcoal. They also manufactured their third ornamental grass outfit, of which the typical part is a forehead cord with a long grass tail in the back of the head.

On their return from the steppe to the plaza, the pepyé as a now fully trained age class received from the council a new class name, viz., pōhįtíkama (pōhįti, big maize). At the same time there were changes of other class names: the pąntų'ktíkama (boys) were designated as kra'tą̄'kama (kra'tą̄, *Piaya* sp.); the wakō'kama henceforth were called kaprąnpotíkama (kaprąnpoti, small water turtle); and the pōhįtíkama changed their name to rópkama (rop, jaguar).

On the same afternoon the pepyé girls and the errand boys were discharged. The former took up positions on the boulevard about seventy meters in front of the novices (now pōhįtíkama), who danced toward them in leaps and surrounded them. Then the girls advanced some distance, waiting to be reached by the dancers, and so they continued around the boulevard until they got to the western vų'te''s house, whereupon the novices went to the plaza and danced with a precentor before the two girls. After this performance the girls went separately to their homes, as did the errand boys. The pepyé continued to dance around the boulevard to the piercing sounds of their ocarinas.

Thereafter the girls, officially discharged, no longer took part in the daily activities of their class, though reckoned as affiliates as long as they lived. They rank as hąmrén. During the following days the newly dubbed pōhįtíkama and kaprąnpotíkama occupied themselves exclusively with dancing in the plaza and before their vų'tę' girls' homes.

Hõkrowatiyõ'.—On July 27 considerable firewood was amassed from all direcx796 ● 527 881

tions. The old precentor Ką′e meanwhile was carrying about fifteen balls from the juicy and somewhat elastic fibrous wood of the burity. These hõkrowatiyõ′ balls when fresh are rather heavy because of their water content and are in appearance indistinguishable from peeled oranges. In my collection they dried and shiveled up so as to lose their shape.

After nightfall a fire was kindled on the northeast side of the plaza, where the unofficial boys' class had been camping, and there old Ką′e with a choir of the three junior age classes sang until after 11 P.M.

At 3 A.M. (July 28) the same group assembled on this spot, except that Ką′e, feeling himself unequal to the prospective exertions, was superseded by the younger precentor Pịtõ′, who wore a rattle cincture tied below the left knee. Besides the fire around which the dance went on, there were five others of smaller extent at different spots along the margin of the plaza, which was thus brightly illuminated. Many spectators had sat down around these lesser fireplaces. On a mat, somewhat aside from the main fire, were the wooden balls. First the dancers ran yelling around the boulevard to gather together all their fellows, but with only partial success. Of the kaprąnpotíkama in particular the majority played truant.

The dancers formed a circle around the fire, singing with outstretched arms and stamping their feet at the close of every stanza. Soon the precentor, Pịtõ′, went to the fire and lay down as though to sleep. But the dancers began to shout and one or at times two of them seized him by the feet and dragged him around the fire on his back. Pịtõ′ offered no resistance, but as soon as released he stood up, calmly picked up five or six balls from the mat and threw them at his tormentors, who did their best to leap and turn aside so as to evade the missiles. As soon as a ball had reached its target, the man hit retired while the rest cried aloud, "vrrr!" Two boys collected the balls and replaced them on the mat. Pịtõ′ stepped into the circle, and the whole scene was repeated anew. Some did not drag the precentor along the ground, but merely lifted him and set him on his feet.

Pịtõ′'s marksmanship was uncanny: only three times during the two hours' game did a dancer succeed in evading all the five or six balls; mostly the very first or the second struck their man. Several times the dancers tried to lure their nonparticipating classmates, who were sitting some distance away by the fires, to join the game; if anyone refused, his back was pelted with a ball. This game continued till daybreak.

Kuką′kaiką′ra.—After sunrise the novices (põhịtíkama) went to the woods by the creek, where each one cut himself a straight and slender pole of pindahyba wood (kuką′), 4 to 5 m. in length. They brought the poles into the meeting houses of the six plaza groups, decorating them first by cutting out the bark in the shape of sundry stripes, rectangles, and triangles, and subsequently by charring. Since the fire attacked only the barked areas, complete decortication yielded black ornaments on a white background. The latter was then painted red with urucú. A pole thus ornamented is called kuką′kaiką′ra.

At 3 P.M. the pepyé (põhịtíkama) of the ketre plaza group came out of their lodge in the west, holding the kuką′kaiką′ra, and moved clockwise round the boulevard, joined by classmates of the other plaza groups as the parade came past the appropriate lodges. Several members of other age classes likewise joined.

In the meantime two põhịtíkama were decorated in the appropriate lodges with falcon down—one from the eastern čẽpre, the other from the western ketre group. The two pepyé girls, who are regarded as affiliated with these groups, were similarly ornamented and put on their new belts.

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In front of the aučét plaza group lodge the pepyé (pōhįtíkama) appeared on the boulevard in two parallel rows beside each other. The right-hand line consisted of western, the left-hand of eastern plaza group members. Ahead walked the commandant with his kuką'kaiką'ra, followed a little to one side by chief Hąktokót, director of the whole initiation proceedings, who was holding a staff in his hand. There followed two precentors with rattle cinctures below the knee; as well as the leader and another member of the kaprąnpotíkama, who were carrying a reddened pole about 3 m. in length, holding it by its ends in a horizontal position. Between these two men three persons were holding the same pole: the aged precentress Kapekwę'i wearing the badge of her hokrepúi office, namely, the dance sash (hahí') made out of a wide cotton band with thick tassels; a young girl also with a dance sash; and the precentress Kupakrō', famous for her zeal as a dancer and her exceptionally powerful voice. Behind these five pole bearers came the two lines of pepyé, and by the side of each youth, forming two further outer parallel lines, walked his actual or prospective mother-in-law, holding one end of a burity cord, the other end being fastened around her son-in-law's neck. (See fig. 14, pl. 40, *a*.) Thus the group advanced slowly clockwise round the boulevard, singing and occasionally retreating a little. When the procession had returned to its starting point, the women departed, but the pepyé took their kuką'kaiką'ra and once more headed by the two precentors, ran along the same route.

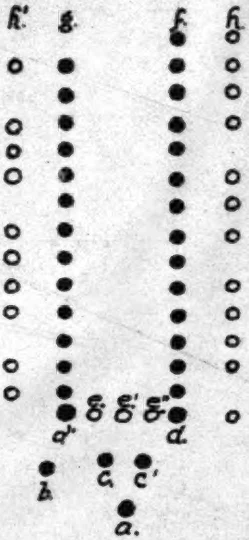

Fig. 14. Mothers-in-law leading sons-in-law. *a*, commandant; *b*, chief Hąktokót; *c*, *c'*, precentors; *d*, class leader of kaprąnpotíkama; *d'*, another member of the class; *e*, *e'*, *e''*, precentresses; *f*, pepyé of eastern plaza groups; *g*, pepyé of western plaza groups; *h*, *h'*, future mothers-in-law.

Then they marched to the plaza, ranging themselves in two divisions—the eastern and western plaza groups taking their proper places. The kuką'kaiką'ra were united in two bundles, that of the eastern group being set up on the *west* side, and vice versa, and each bundle held upright by one man. After Hąktokót, standing in the middle of the plaza, had uttered a cry, the two pepyé girls came running out of the ketre and čěpre lodges, respectively, and toward the plaza, carrying in their hands an iron digging stick and a bunch of bast. Each deposited these objects by her party's pole-bundle, then several men hurriedly tied the poles together with the bast, while others used the iron tools to dig holes, into which they set the pole-bundles upright. The chief again called out, and immediately the two down-decorated pepyé simultaneously came dashing to the plaza from east and west, each trying to knock down the rival division's bundle before the other fell. The racer of the eastern plaza groups—of course, none other than Tepyét—got to the goal first, but stumbled over a hollow at the foot of the bundle and fell to the ground, so that his rival had a chance to get there in time to make the fall of both bundles precisely simultaneous.

A log race of the kaprąnpotíkama and pepyé concluded the kuką'kaiką'ra ceremony, and therewith the entire pepyé festival as well as the cycle of initiation begun in 1926.

There followed, however, two intimately related ceremonies.

x796 881 527 *Girls' belts.*—On the morning when the pepyé pōhįtíkama were making their kuką'kaiką'ra in their plaza group lodges, the tucum cord belts (me'pré) manufactured for the pepyé girls by their mothers were suspended in front of their houses from the top of a pole 6 m. in height. However, before the sun grew too hot, the girdles were removed lest the girls after putting them on develop swellings in the inguinal glands. The girdles, still displaying the green coloring of tucum bast, were first worn by their owners when falcon down was stuck on them in preparation for the erection of the kuką'kaiką'ra bundles on the plaza, that is, on the afternoon of the same day.

Soon after the race at the close of the kuką'kaiką'ra ceremony a scene was enacted in the plaza, with Koté, the eastern pepyé girl, who was betrothed to her classmate Korégn, in the main part. Koté's maternal uncle had killed a deer and secretly brought it to his sister's home. At the hour mentioned a parallel cousin of Koté's mother, taking the quarry on his back and followed by Koté, carried it along the boulevard up to the house of Koté's paternal aunt, which was almost exactly opposite her fiancé's. Thence he followed the radial route to the plaza. Meanwhile all of Korégn's younger kinswomen had assembled before his maternal home and ran to meet the bearer of the deer as soon as he turned into the radial path. Many spectators were watching from their houses to see which of the girls would prove the swiftest. The racers seized the deer, dragged it to Korégn's maternal home and distributed it among themselves.

The next morning each of these runners brought some urucú pigment and babassu kernels to Korégn's mother's house. Koté, dressed in the girdle, which still showed the natural green coloring, joined them. The kinswomen rubbed a thick coating of urucú into the girdle, painted Koté herself with the pigment and then sent her home. Several days later the same procedure was followed with Hororák, the western pepyé girl.

Should a girl be neither betrothed nor married by the close of initiation—a thing that probably hardly ever occurs—the role of the husband's or fiancé's kinswomen in running toward the deer carrier would be taken by the younger age classes, and they would distribute the booty among themselves in the plaza, while the girl's mother would be dyeing the girdle red at her home.

Departure of oldest class.—The other ceremony relates to the elimination of the hitherto oldest class among the four active racing groups. This results from the now definitive localization of the boys' class (pąntų'ktíkama, later kra'tą̄'kama) on the northeast side of the plaza.

THE MUMMERS' FESTIVAL

827 575 *Introduction.*—This is one of the three major festivals, one of which is chosen for performance during the years without initiations.

The Mummers (kōkrį't), one of the six men's societies (p. 95), comprise about thirty members, membership being transferred matrilineally together with the personal name. Their use of costumes is restricted to the period of the major festival bearing the name of the organization. This ceremony is celebrated comparatively rarely: about eleven years intervened between the last two masquerades (1924, 1935). Apart from this performance the members appear unmasked at the terminal solemnity of every vų'tę' period, but play an insignificant part then. For their leader they like to choose the tallest member so that his mask may tower above the rest. At present (1935) the incumbent is Yuá, the tallest of all Rąmkō'kamekra. The meeting place of the organization is on the west side of the village.

x796 The term kõkrį′t is not related to the words for tapir (kukrų′t) and king vulture
575 (kukriti), but is probably composed of kõ, water, and krįt, wild. It refers to a race
● 527 of monsters that, according to legend, once infested the Rio Tocantins, but has retreated downstream since the ingress of Neobrazilians. The Indians still believe in the existence of these kõkrį′t and repeatedly asked me whether I had not somewhere in the course of my travels encountered these monsters along some uninhabited river. The term is often combined with the diminutive (-re) and augmentative (-ti) suffixes; and to designate the costumes the speaker adds -ho (leaves, straw): kõkrį′trehõ′, kõkrį′ttihõ′.

773 *Origin myths.*—The origin of the society is thus explained by the Rąmkõ′kamekra:

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527 The youngest age class was hunting on the Tocantins. As usual, an old man accompanied them. After they had killed and smoked a tapir, the commandant decided to return. When they had already covered a fair distance from the river, the old man recalled having left his bow behind. He asked several of the youths to run back and fetch it, but none was willing. Then at last the old man got angry and walked back alone.

When he got to the river, he saw himself suddenly surrounded by the kõkrį′t. One of these, who had noticed the hunters from a distance, had hurriedly turned back and summoned all his mates. These did not, indeed, find the hunters any more, but unexpectedly met the elder. One of the monsters dashed up, threatening to spit him on his horn, but the old man begged for his life on the plea of his age. Then Kenpéy, chief of the kõkrį′t, came up, forbade the others to molest the elder, and shielding him under his fringed garment, led him into the kõkrį′t, village. He treated him kindly and advised him to watch the villagers closely during their dancing. The old man took careful note of everything, finally returned after five days, had the Rąmkõ′kamekra make costumes of burity bast that looked exactly like the kõkrį′t themselves, and taught them the dances and behavior of the monsters.

Another experience with the kõkrį′t is recounted as follows:

The kõkrį′t were in the habit of gamboling about on the surface of the water and the sandbanks, producing a very disagreeable odor. One day the Indians noticed a young kõkrį′t on a sandbank while the older ones were playing in the water. They ran up and kidnapped the young monster, supposing that the kõkrį′t were agile only inside of the water and would find it awkward to run on land. But as soon as the old kõkrį′t had detected what was going on, they dashed to the bank and pursued the abductors, who were fleeing with their booty as fast as they could. Ahead of all other kõkrį′t ran Espóra, from whose wrath the Indians finally fled up a tree. He raged about its trunk and ran against it with his horns so that splinters flew off. Then the Indians were frightened and threw the young one back to him, and he went off with it.

The Pųkõbye, among whom I saw kõkrį′t costumes in 1929, designated them simply as krowahõ′, burity straw. Their origin tale is strongly reminiscent of the story by which the Rąmkõ′kamekra explain the origin of the tepyarkwá festival:

Two hunters accompanied by their dog were pursuing a tapir. The beast fled to a big lake, plunged into its water, and swam away from the bank, followed by the dog. One of the hunters also jumped in and swam after them. The other remained on the bank; seeing the game and its pursuers getting farther and farther away, he called to his companion to come back, but his advice remained unheeded. Suddenly he saw piranhas (predatory fish, viz. *Serrasalmo* sp.) attacking and devouring first the tapir, then the dog, and finally the hunter.

The piranhas had their village at the bottom of the water. When their chief heard what had occurred, he ordered his warriors to spew out all the flesh of the man they had eaten. This he had them lay on leaves and called the little piabinhas, the cleverest and ablest of all fish, so they might put the man's body together again. At once there appeared a school of these little fish and applied themselves zealously to the task, the chief standing by and urging them on. Soon the body of the man was again completely put together, and the piabinhas were allowed to depart. Now the chief summoned the suruby (*Platystoma* sp.), a magician, who resuscitated the man.

In honor of the resurrected Indian a festival was arranged, at which there were also masked dancers. The man noted whatever took place and resolved to imitate the krowahõ′ on returning to his village. When the performance was over, the fishes led him to the entrance of a cave under x796 water, which led obliquely upward. It was the cave of the taitetú pigs. By this the hunter returned to the upper world, where he introduced the krowahő′ costumes among his fellow tribesmen.

● 527 I probably misunderstood the final part of the myth when I heard it. Originally
773 I assumed that the piranhas themselves had danced in masquerade, which was
575 puzzling since this would still leave the origin of the masks unaccounted for. At present I conjecture that at the festival of the piranhas the hunter is supposed to see the kökrį′t monsters themselves, whom he imitated in the upper world by using the krowahő′ masquerade.

527 *Costumes.*—(See pls. 37–39.) A stick, 1 m. long, resting transversely on the
575 crown of the wearer's head, and two somewhat shorter mats, plaited of split young
535 burity leaves, which hang from this horizontal support, constitute a costume. The front mat is about ½-m. in width, the posterior one somewhat wider. Both are hexagonal, but with three of the sides so short that from a distance the effect is that of an isosceles right-angled triangle, the horizontal bar forming the hypotenuse. The sides and lower margin of both mats are bordered by a heavy fringe of long burity fibers. From the center of the lower edge of the anterior mat a slit a span in length extends vertically upward. On the inside a pair of plaited cords hangs from the lower end of this opening on either side, and by seizing them with both hands the wearer is able to move the edges of the slit.

To the posterior mat are fastened two horns of pau rôxo wood about 2 m. long which project obliquely upward and outward; they meet at the middle of the lower margin, forming a right angle, and extend beyond the ends of the transverse rod. By a chin strap the wearer ties to his head a pad of burity bast in order to relieve the pressure of the stick. He looks outside through the upper part of the slit. The front mat extends about to the middle of the chest, whence the fiber fringe so completely hides the body that even the masquerader's feet are invisible, at least when he stands at rest. Horizontally a tuft of grass a span in length projects from the middle of the posterior side; it represents a bunch of hair from the head tied together. On the front of the costume the eyes are painted with red and black pigments made of almecega rosin with urucú, and of this rosin with powdered charcoal, respectively. However, one type of mask lacks eyes, substituting a broad horizontal stripe.

The Rąmkö′kamekra themselves use eight types of kökrį′thó (fig. 15, *a*–*i*) and ascribe three additional forms to other Timbira tribes (fig. 15, *j*–*l*). They call the foreign outfits by the same designations as the indigenous equivalents, only adding the suffix kahą′k (similar to). The kenpéy (headman) and ihökẽ′n (clown) type are represented each by a single sample during a festival; the mekra tamtúato hók type always occurs doubly (for the girl associates); the remaining five types exist in from two to four specimens. In 1935 the membership of the society had been decreased by the smallpox, so that by way of an exception there was not a single costume of the tephothõ′ type. The alien Timbira forms never figure at a Rąmkö′-kamekra performance, which normally uses the following:

1. kenpéy (=echo), the leader's mask, lacks eyes, substituting a smooth, black forehead stripe along the lower side of the transverse rod (fig. 15, *a*). The posterior mat is painted with black animal figures, usually two monkeys, on the right and the left sides. Usually members other than the leader also put on kenpéy masks, which, however, are then distinguished by the jagged sawlike lower edge of the forehead stripe (fig. 15, *b*). This variant, also called krą̃ti (big head), likewise bears black monkey figures on the back.

2. tõkaivéu has for each eye three concentric black circles and a central point, the spaces between the circles being dyed red. In addition, this mask has circular ears painted on and bears a moustache of thin bast fibers at both sides of the slit (fig. 15, *c*). On the back there are two vertical rows of short, black double strokes.

X796 535 **3. espóra** (Portuguese espora, spur) lacks, at least nowadays, any aboriginal designation. Its eyes are rowel-shaped, its ears circular (fig. 15, *d*).

527 **4. tephothõ'** has horizontally extended hourglasses for eyes and occasionally a forehead stripe (fig. 15, *e*). The name designates an herb having double leaves resembling in shape the eyes of the mask.

575 **5. hąká** (= giboya, boa constrictor) bears two bands meeting at a right angle above the middle of the forehead; the bands have a black background with red diamonds. A narrow black stroke runs parallel to and outside each band (fig. 15, *f*). On each side of the back this costume has a stripe of black rings linked together chain fashion.

6. tõhokpó (= flatly and broadly painted eyes) has black rectangular eyes, the oblongs resting on their narrow sides. Beside each eye there is a vertical stroke, sometimes connected with the rectangle by an intervening space dyed red (fig. 15, *g*). The back usually has on each side two fish, one above the other, but sometimes a kind of cross instead.

7. ihõkẽ'n (= his bad grass) belongs to the kõkrį't society's clown. It is of poor material, moreover it is elaborated and patched together with studied negligence. There is no definite decoration, the eyes being painted in any desirable way so as to appear crooked and unsymmetrical. The horns are made of crooked and ill-fashioned sticks; sometimes one or even both may be lacking (fig. 15, *h*).

8. mekra tamtúa to'hõk, the two girl associates' type, has two black double lines forming a right angle in the center above the forehead (fig. 15, *i*).

The three alien types are:

9. kenpéykahą'k. Each eye consists of two red triangles beside each other, the inner being larger than the outer (fig. 15, *j*).

10. tephothõkahą'k. Its eyes are red, vertical, spindle-shaped forms; sometimes there are on each side three spindle-shaped strokes (fig. 15, *k*).

11. tohokpõkahą'k. Has for each eye a minute red triangle standing on its apex (fig. 15, *l*).

The membership always includes several boys having correspondingly smaller masks of the same types.

No other types or variants occur among the Rąmkõ'kamekra. Not only did I personally see no others, but I independently ascertained the facts by asking the kõkrį't to make pencil drawings for me of the forms extant. One man, Keča, thereupon drew the eight types shown in figure 15, including the krąti variant of kenpéy. The three alien types were not recognized as officially acceptable.

535 114 527 This result requires emphasis because the account by Snethlage, who visited the Rąmkõ'kamekra in 1924 during a Mummers' festival and was the first investigator to describe their costumes, in part sharply deviates from what I have seen and collected.[illegible] My observations support the following comments.

575 Concerning his figure 22,[illegible] the horns are proportionately much longer and their upper ends are not cut off straight but taper to a sharp point. The pendent fringe ought to be much longer to be in proportion and should be open in the middle below the slit.

Snethlage refers to painted eyes of square or spiral form ("auf der quadratisch oder spiralig die Augen aufgemalt waren"). As the sketches and my collections demonstrate, not a single mask has square or spiral eyes, though those of the tõhokpó are rectangular and those of the tõkaivéu are formed of concentric circles. The spiral simply does not occur in Rąmkõ'kamekra decorative art. When I painted a mask with spiral-like eyes for the Indians, they declared that they were unfamiliar with any such specimen.

Snethlage speaks of a transverse slit for the mouth ("der Mund häufig durch einen Querspalt angedeutet"). I have never seen a transverse slit on a mask; and when I asked the Indians to make me a mask with such a one, they evidently regarded this as a joke. Snethlage's figure 22 shows only a vertical slit, and a little

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[illegible] Snethlage, Meine Reise, 465, 466; Nordostbras. Ind., 181, 187.

[illegible] Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 181.

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farther on he remarks, "Die Sprache erschöpfte sich in gewissen Bewegungen des *Nasen*spaltes." Why not "*Mund*spaltes" if such a one were present?

He assumes erroneously, and not on the basis of any statement of mine, that the costumes I collected were derived from a later age-class festival ("einem späteren Altersklassenfest"). As a matter of fact, kökrį't costumes are in no way connected with age classes.

"Andere Masken hatten statt der beiden seitlichen Holzstangen, den sogenannten Hörnern, einen blitzartig gebogenen Draht in der Mitte." The author orally reaffirmed this observation in answer to a query of mine. The Indians themselves told me they were not familiar with any such appendage. I can merely suppose by way of explanation that the clown of the organization, whose mask lacks horns, jocularly substituted the wire.

Snethlage explains the differences between his observations and my own by assuming an actual change in the form of costume during the interval between our respective visits (1924, 1929). This seems highly improbable. In the first place, even if aboriginal conservatism had lightly permitted such alterations, the fact remains that during the period in question there had been no Mummers' festival at which a modification could have been decreed. Secondly, the Mummers vehemently declared that the costumes were always made in the same manner, in consonance with ancient tradition.

The illustration in Snethlage's paper (Nordostbras. Ind.) suggests to me that at least in part the author put his observations in writing when he was no longer able to observe the masquerading directly; in consequence, I assume that he was probably no longer able to recall all the details with precision.

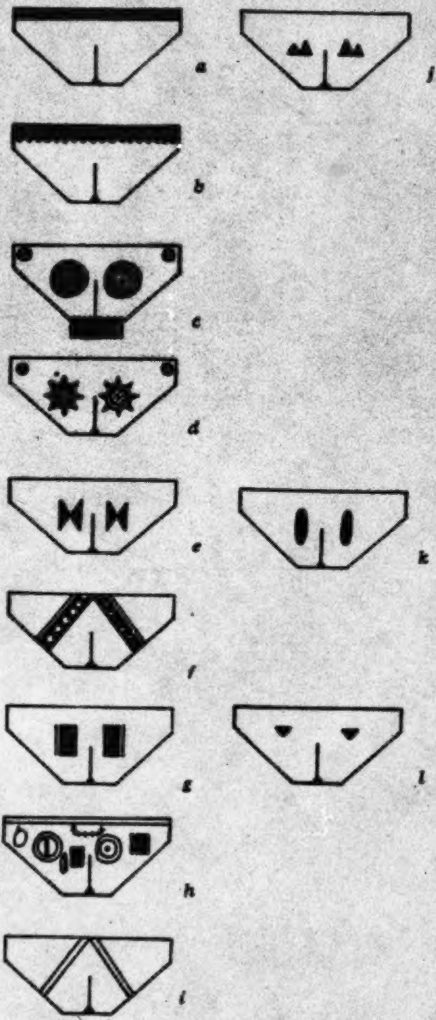

Fig. 15. Decoration of masquerade costumes. *a–i*, Rąmkō'kamekra: kenpéy, krãti, tõkaivéu, espóra, tephothō', hąká, tehokpó, ihōkē'n = clown, mekratamtũa tohók. *j–l*, foreign: kenpey-kahák; tephothō-kahák, tohokpó-kahák.

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I have seen kökrį't outfits also among the Pųkóbye, the Krahō', and the Timbira of Araparytíua.

On entering the Pųkóbye (Gaviões) village of São Feliz (upper Pindaré) in

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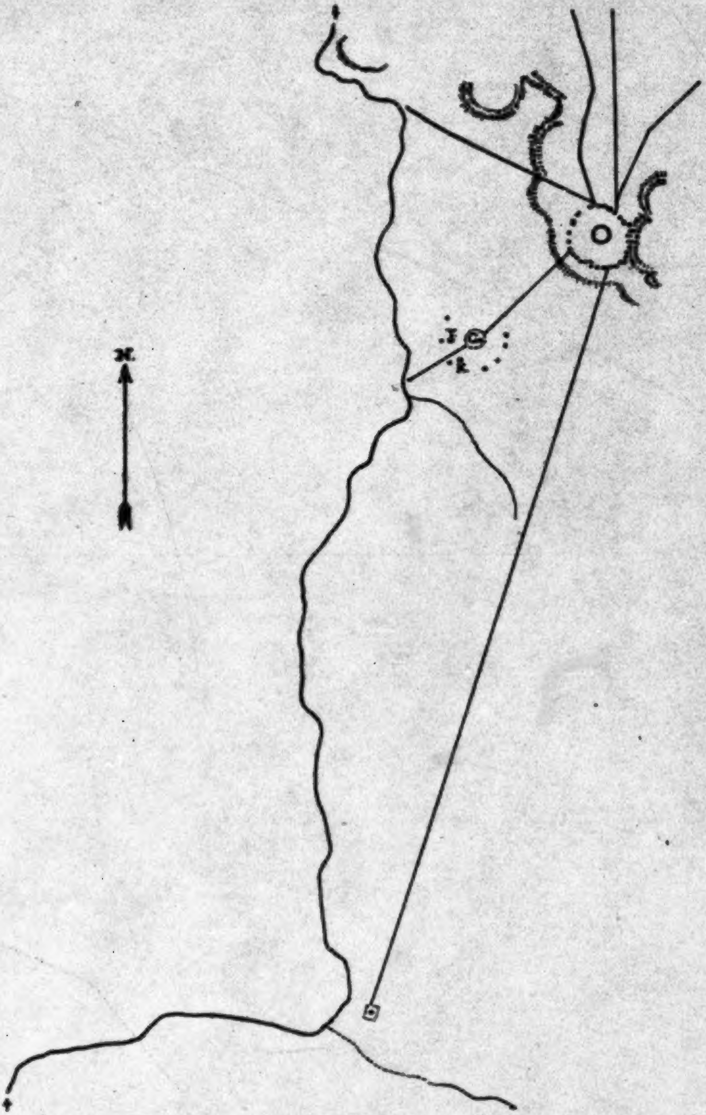

Fig. 16. Mummers' festival, chart showing fire of Agouti society (C); of Jaguars (Y); of Mummers (K). The straight line to the north of the settlement (Baixão Preto) leads to Barra do Corda, the bent line west of it is one of the race tracks, the marks east of C and K indicate an abandoned village, the watercourse to the west is the Santo Estevão, its junction with the straight line from C southwest marks the bathing site; the dotted rectangle in extreme south is the mask hut.

X796 January 1929, I found that the festival was over. I discovered only a single small
● 527 mask, the rest having been destroyed in order to make the constituent parts fit for
575 other uses. The specimen corresponded to the tõhokpó of the Canella, but the verti-
535 cal line beside the black rectangles of the eyes was red. In the rear the place of fish figures was taken by glued-on feathers, black in the middle and red toward the sides.

The Krahõ' whom I visited in their villages on the Manoel Alves Pequeño (1930) told me about their dance costumes and at my request manufactured one, which corresponded to none of the Rąmkõ'kamekra types. The front mask was strikingly narrow, being only about 20 cm. in width. The eyes consisted of large red triangles with a black center; the bases were coterminous with the lower edge of the mat. There were brush-shaped (*pinselförmige*) ears, and the very thin horns extended not over the tips of the transverse bar but rather toward the center.

Most of all did the Araparytíua Timbira masks diverge from the Rąmkõ'kamekra type, though the last samples, which I saw on the upper Gurupy in 1914 in very poor condition, bore an equivalent designation (ku'xid = kõkrį't). Like the Kayapó and Karayá masks, these were high, more or less cylindrical headdresses with a fringe hanging down from the lower margin. There were traces indicating that feathers had been glued on. On top there were still two thin, almost parallel horns ½-m. in length.

575 *Initial steps.*—The society itself, I learned, had taken the initiative in stimu-
527 lating the performance of 1924. Its leader, no longer living, had summoned the members to their assembly house on the west side of the village and asked whether they were unanimously in favor of the undertaking. On an affirmative reply he announced the decision to the councilors in the plaza, who gave their consent.

In 1935 the younger generation, above all the põhįtíkama headed by Kapẽrtúk, had decided to hold the tepyarkwá, but the elders substituted the kõkrįthõ' despite Kapẽrtúk's manifest displeasure and his inclination to offer passive resistance, which, however, was of brief duration and not seriously meant.

As soon as the Mummers' festival is definitely decided on, the two societies invariably collaborating with the kõkrį't also assemble in their respective meeting places: the Agoutis in the maternal house of the eastern vų'tę'; the Jaguars, led by their headman, the Black Jaguar, in the western vų'tę' house. Thereupon all three societies each choose two girls as mekuičwę'i for the festive period (pl. 37, *c*).

[343] *Making of costumes.*—Now the kõkrį't erect a shed by a brook near an adequate number of burity palms yielding the raw material, and there they work daily at manufacturing the masks (pls. 37, *a*, *b*; 38, *a*). In 1935 this hut, a rather carelessly built gabled rancho, was two kilometers south of the aldea and upstream. As it hardly rains at this season, no pains were taken to provide adequate covering, a thin layer of palm grass that afforded protection from the sun being deemed sufficient. Mostly the members worked outside in the scant shade of the steppe trees. Nonmembers were not exactly forbidden to approach, but their presence without urgent cause, from sheer curiosity, is held improper. Except for the two girl associates, who customarily attend during the day, women are never to be seen there.

Since this work does not form the members' only occupation it consumes over a month, during which time they do not take part in log races and refrain from painting themselves with urucú for fear of soiling the material. Lacking special reasons to the contrary, the Mummers, before attacking their daily labors, join the Jaguars and Agoutis for the following performance.

Jaguar and Agouti play.—Shortly before sunrise, just after the regular morning dance in the plaza, the three societies depart for a bathing hole on the Santo

X796 575 ●527 Estevão six hundred meters from the village, where they jointly bathe. Thereupon each organization assembles separately at its own fireplace, some two hundred meters back of the bathing hole (fig. 16). The Jaguars and Mummers are the first to leave for the village, trotting along and yelling. In the village the Jaguars enter their lodge in order to decorate themselves with black paint, while the Mummers take their stand around the edge of the plaza. Immediately thereafter the Agoutis come running toward the plaza, where they begin by circling around in a hop step. Then they take a stand facing the Jaguars' lodge, put their hands against their knees, and yell.

There follows the Little Falcon's performance, which also marks the terminal ceremony of the vų'te' season (p. 166). The Little Falcon always appears exclusively in conjunction with the Agoutis and Jaguars, the former having for their essential function that of teasing the latter, who try to catch their tormentors.

The Little Falcon's office is matrilineally inherited. In 1930 the incumbent was so small that he came in straddling the neck of his hąpínpey, who vicariously performed all the appropriate ceremonies for him, the boy's mother walking alongside of her son, whose body had falcon down stuck on it.

After the procession of Agoutis and Jaguars and the posturing of the former as described above, the Agoutis face west. One of them, stooping, runs to the house of the western vų'tę'—the meeting place of the Jaguars—and thence fetches the Little Falcon, who takes his stand in the center of the plaza. Then he squats on his heels, raising his right arm as though it were a wing, inserting a whistle between his lips, and with it imitating the falcon's call while the Agoutis dance in a circle around him. Thereupon the Agoutis bring the Little Falcon back to the Jaguars' lodge, whence they return racing toward the plaza. The Little Falcon, however, goes to the eastern vų'tę' house, the Agoutis' lodge. As soon as he has disappeared there, the Agoutis utter their cry, to which the Little Falcon responds by whistling.

Suddenly one of the Agoutis dashes at a dead run toward the Jaguars' lodge, whence he brings the Little Falcon, who trots whistling toward the plaza, squatting down in its center and spreading one arm wing-fashion, while the yelling Agoutis surround him. Then he runs back whistling toward the Jaguars' lodge, whose members receive him with a patter of feet. While the Agoutis swarm about the plaza shouting, the Jaguars come up in a trot and take up positions in the arc of a circle near the margin of the plaza. Their leader, the Black Jaguar, stands in front, their girl associates behind. The Jaguars assume a crouching posture, with their clenched fists extended forward beside each other, the back of the hands facing up. Suddenly the Black Jaguar raises his fists and indicates one of the roving Agoutis, against whom he advances with his fellows, trying to surround, catch, and throw him down. The menaced Agouti seeks safety either in some house or behind one of the Mummers scattered about the periphery of the plaza. This catching game is repeated with one after another of the Agoutis present; only the girl associates and members who happen to belong also to the hąmrén enjoy immunity. These, standing abreast in the center of the plaza and facing the Jaguars during the play, remain unmolested. At last the Jaguars retire to their lodge, whence they disperse. The Mummers then go to work in their shed, and the Agoutis make their exit.

[531] *Mummers' entrance.*—As soon as the masks are done except for the painted decoration, the Mummers decorate their bodies with black rubber pigment and bast bands, thus announcing to the villagers the impending entrance of the masqueraders. The next morning, having secured the requisite almecega rosin, the members paint their masks red and black—a task usually completed by noon (pl. 37, *b*).

X796 ● 527 575 Shortly after midday the kõkrį't don their costumes and slowly move toward the village in Indian file. The first to appear on the wide street connecting the village and the mask shed is Ihõkẽ'n, the clown. As soon as he appears on the horizon, women and girls gather at the junction of the masqueraders' street and the boulevard. A delegate of the kõkrį't, but not a member, was carrying a gun and admonished these expectant spectators to preserve the peace: they were not to run out of the village to meet the kõkrį't, but were to wait on the boulevard, refraining from disputes over the ceremonial office of "maternity" (see below). In the meantime Ihõkẽ'n came trotting up and, on entering the boulevard, was surrounded by the girls, one of whom succeeded in tying to his horn a small beaded and tasseled bowl. This made her the clown's "mother" during the period of the festival. Ihõkẽ'n boxed the compass of the street, halting before every door and making his horns swing to and fro there. Then he ran back again on the masqueraders' street, and thus constantly back and forth between the slowly approaching Mummers and the village.

Finally the long line of kõkrį't arrived on the boulevard, headed by their leader in the kenpéy mask. In eager competition the waiting women and girls hurried to fasten to a horn of each mask some small ornament as a badge, such as had already been received by the clown. Those Mummers who recognized in the donors their sisters or pinčwę'i mutely declined the gifts by a deprecatory gesture. Then, still in Indian file, they went on along the boulevard toward their lodge, where they doffed their disguises. Then they went bathing, ate, and rested, for the costumes are so hot and heavy that the wearers perspire profusely and rapidly tire. [145]

Chants.—After a while the costumes were put on again, and a dance rattle was tied to the Tõkaivéu, who ran in front of the house of a precentor, calling him out by stamping his feet and by movement of the slit. The Mummer extended the rattle on his horn toward the precentor, who removed it and accompanied him to the meeting house. In front of this the kõkrį't formed a circle around their two girl associates, the women who had preceded them in office in 1924, and the precentor; a fifth girl participated in the ceremony from sheer sympathy with the Mummers. The masqueraders began to quaver and hum, whereupon the girls in a clear voice began to sing in a slow tempo to the accompaniment of the dance rattle. The Mummers merely hummed while rocking their bodies from one foot to the other. Then the circle resolved itself into a line, which slowly marched around the boulevard in single file toward the right, halting now and then, forming a circle, and singing: "čiprõkatẽ iyerẽre mae!" (čiprõ = swallow; -rẽ = past?). An Espóra and a Tõkaivéu were in the meantime running from house to house, mutely inviting the girls to the dance in the plaza. The kõkrį't then, together with the maskless youths, danced humming in front of the singing girls, the two groups forming, respectively, the right and the left wing of the dancers.

527 575 553 *Name giving.*—After this dance the Mummers returned to the boulevard, where they remained standing at a point diametrically opposite their lodge. In the meantime the Clown society assembled in the plaza. One of them ran up to the masqueraders, seized their leader by his fringe, and dragged him some seventy meters along the boulevard. There he gave him a nickname and left him. A second Clown ran up, seized and led a second Mummer to the same spot and likewise conferred a nickname on him. The next two Clowns each dragged three Mummers there simultaneously and named them. Then one of the girl associates of the Clowns brought a masquerader thither, and so on until all the kõkrį't were reunited and had received their first sobriquet.

x796 Thereupon a Clown again took the leader some seventy meters farther, the rest
● 527 being subsequently led there singly, in pairs or in trios, to receive their second
nickname. In this way the semicircle to the Mummers' lodge was traversed in six
575 stages, each masquerader receiving six sobriquets amid the constant mischief-
553 making and yelling of the Clowns. Most of the names referred to some ridiculous
[831] peculiarity of the sexual organs.

Next the masqueraders collected food in the houses of their "mothers," which they brought to the chiefs and councilors in the plaza. For this purpose they carry under the costume a little basket suspended by a lug from the shoulder, also a wooden pin ½-m. long with which to spit the victuals offered and transfer them into the basket, for their hands must remain invisible.

Then the Mummers, singly and in small groups, played about the circle until after sunset, when they once more gathered at the spot diametrically opposite their meeting place. The radial path from this point to the plaza, as well as the one from the plaza to the kōkrį't lodge, had been specially widened to 6–7 m. for the organization. On this street the masqueraders now ran singly, one after another, transversely across the plaza to their lodge—Kenpéy slowly, Espóra and Tōkaivéu at a mad gallop. The two latter, without slowing up, dashed into the relatively small door, first deftly lowering one horn, then leaping sideways across the threshold, while lowering the other horn, and thus suddenly standing inside. Ihōkē'n, too, indulged in antics after his fashion, pretending that he was unable to find the door; twice he ran against the wall so as to fall down, finally he ran around the house and entered by the rear door.

Parade.—The following day at 5 P.M. the kōkrį't held the "penčę" parade. In a long Indian file they slowly marched from their lodge along its radial path nearly up to the plaza, returning in a line parallel to their own. Then they moved two or three houses farther along the boulevard, turned into the radius there, and continued in this way. Sometimes they would go to the plaza on one radius and return to the boulevard by the next, their long line executing parallel serpentine coils. Sometimes the Tōkaivéu would leave the line during this procession and run up and down in front of it.

575 Then the kōkrį't collected food from their "mothers," the married members transporting it to their wives, the bachelors consuming theirs in the meeting house.

201 *Behavior of the Mummers.*—Except for a muffled humming and a quavering in an undertone that occasionally becomes audible during their parades, the kōkrį't remain speechless, communication with one another and the villagers being by a patter or stamping of feet and by moving the edges of the vertical slit of the mask. They address and greet people by stamping their feet, summon them by protruding and retracting the margins of the slit (pl. 39, *c*). Rapid friction of the edges against each other betokens the request of a favor, for the Mummers are greatly given to mendicancy, even by the extremely lax Rąmkō'kamekra standards (pl. 39, *d*). A gift is impaled on the wooden pin. They express gratification by dancing and by swinging of the fringe. If humiliated by a refusal, they lower their heads (pl. 39, *a*); when angered, they raise one horn menacingly against the offender (pl. 39, *b*).

575 Generally the Mummers run about singly or in small groups along the boulevard
527 and its radii, the Tōkaivéu and Espóra always running most madly. In the evening a fire is kindled in front of the houses near which the masqueraders carry on their playing. None of them ever walks to a house by way of the boulevard; they invariably go first to the plaza and dash straight toward the door in question, where everyone gets out of the way of the menacing horns. Turning his body laterally and in

X796 ● 527 575 rapid succession lowering the two horns one after another, a Mummer deftly jumps over the threshold of the door, which as a rule does not exceed 1.70 to 1.80 m. in height.

For the food received the members who have killed game during a hunt—where of course they are not masked—bring their "mothers" some of the flesh impaled on the horn. Ihōkē'n is in the habit of sitting down by the fire of a house, fanning it into a blaze, and occupying himself with whatever food is in process of preparation, but without stealing any.

[837] At night some of the kōkrį't indulge in the pastime of dragging a village wanton under their costumes, which easily accommodate a couple, and then the two disappear in the dark.

It has happened that the Jaguars borrowed the kōkrį't masks for a day in order to amuse themselves. In that case the Jaguars previously arrange a hunting trip and turn over the kill to the Mummers, who distribute it among themselves.

Throughout the festive period the Mummers from time to time make a pair of logs and race against the Agoutis.

Hunt.—When the entertainments of the kōkrį't and the collaborating organizations have spread over a sufficient period and the close of the vų'tę' season is in sight, the council decides to inaugurate the terminal celebration. Thereupon the Mummers and the Jaguars go hunting for the western, and the Agoutis for the eastern vų'tę'. This requires one or two weeks' time. Returning from their trip, the hunters send a kinsman of the vų'tę' ahead, so that he may ask the women in the village to prepare stones and firewood for the earth ovens. On the other hand, the vų'tę''s brother walks toward the hunters with a gift consisting of a confection from manioc, sweet potato, or manioc flour. The hunters camp overnight near the village and formally enter it on the following morning, preceded by an old man who sings the names of the animals bagged. A councilor goes to meet the arriving hunters and selects part of the kill for himself and his colleagues. Then the Mummers and the Jaguars march with their spoils into the house of the western vų'tę', and the Agoutis similarly enter the eastern vų'tę''s house. The Mummers put on their masks and disport themselves on the several roads.

[345] *Close.*—On the day before the final solemnity the Agoutis construct the framework of poles for a little round hut 2 m. in diameter and 1 ½-m. in height. It is put up about 5 m. in front of the western vų'tę''s door, where the Jaguars assemble, and remains without a covering of palm leaves. In the center of this hut there is a post of pau pombo wood 5 m. in height and 10 cm. in thickness; towering far above the hut, it terminates in a fork, to which a liana (Cipó mucuña) 3 cm. in thickness is carefully tied so that it hangs down to the roof of the pole framework.

In the afternoon the Agoutis fetch the down-bedecked Little Falcon from the Jaguars' lodge and march around the boulevard yelling and leaping around him and simultaneously trying to pluck off the glued-on feathers, while the Little Falcon's pinĕwę'i try to protect him. Every time they pass the Jaguars' lodge the Little Falcon mounts the roof of the little hut and "flies." That is, he seizes the liana with both hands, swings off the roof with a leap on the principle of the giant's stride, clinging to the creeper, lands again, swings off to the other side, and so forth. At last he disappears in the Jaguars' lodge.

On the next day the kōkrį't as well as the vų'tę' season closes with the erection of the trough-shaped kōkré log before one vų'te''s house (p. 167).

In the morning of the same day large me[illegible]pies prepared from the hunters' kill are baking in huge earth ovens. Then the Mummers, who on this occasion don their

X796 masks for the last time, join the Jaguars in surrounding the oven of the western
● 527 vų'tę', while the Agoutis assemble around the eastern vų'tę''s. By the oven the
"mothers" of the kõkrį't remove their "sons'" masks, whereupon the Mummers'
575 kinswomen pour water on the wearers. Each "mother" carries the costume home,
keeps it there as long as she pleases, and then takes it apart so that the constituents
may be otherwise utilized—the mats for seats, the fringe for plaitwork, the horns
for bows.

Character of costumes.—The masquerade costumes of this tribe are wholly secu-
535 lar, completely lacking religious or esoteric significance. They are unrelated to
527 initiation, age classes, and exogamous, plaza, or seasonal moieties. The Mummers
575 simply form one men's society, like the Agoutis, Jaguars, Ducks, or Falcons, and
follow the same pattern of a leader, two girl associates, and transfer of membership
from maternal uncle to sister's son. The costumes are not taboo to anyone and
inspire no fear, least of all in the tribeswomen, two of whom themselves wear them.
In fact, the masks are especially popular among the female population and closely
linked with it through the institution of "mothers." Masquerading is a jollification
for the villagers, nothing more.

575 According to Estevão de Oliveira's investigation in 1935, "mothers" turn up in
connection with masks, though in a different way, among the linguistically isolated
535 Makurú, who live in the state of Pernambuco, not far from the Caxioeira Paulo
171 Affonso of the Rio São Francisco. Their masks, however, are of quite distinct type
and seem to have religious value.

PEPKAHĄ'K

527 *Introduction.*—This is another of the three intercalary festivals performed in years that lack initiation ceremonials.

Pepkahą'k means "imitating (-kahą'k) warriors (pep)," or "similar to warriors." Though the Apinayé phonetic equivalent, Pebkaág, designates the initial phase of their initiation ceremony,[illegible] the Rąmkõ'kamekra pepkahą'k is neither immediately connected with the boys' initiation nor a prerequisite to any social function. It almost seems as though the festival results from the desire of the last-initiated age class to enjoy once more the amenities of prolonged seclusion. There is no true origin myth (cf. p. 179) nor are the natives able to interpret the performance beyond declaring that it serves solely for entertainment.

My account rests on the performance I witnessed from April 18 till June 14, 1931.

The vų'tę' season of the year had been opened on April 14. On April 18, at 5 P.M., the women and girls had pilfered the pole laden with slices of meat and fruits; and there followed the customary dance for that time of day in the plaza, which was immediately followed by the opening of the pepkahą'k. This rapid succession of events was by no means accidental or due to lack of time, but was designed to prevent the dispersal of the younger men, who were practically all assembled for the vų'tę' opening and had no inkling of the prospective beginning of the festival. Some might have gone away to evade capture and participation, for not all the individuals selected for a part relish this new seclusion.

Personnel.—The personnel embraced:

1. Uninterned: two catchers (hapą'nkate), who are actual directors, viz., To'põ' of the eastern and Kuikõ' of the western exogamous moiety.

One precentor (ikrérekate); as usual, old Ką'e.

2. Interned: two leaders (mamkyẽ'ti), one from each moiety, who head their secluded age mates.

[illegible] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 37.

X796 ● 527 3. One old man (mekapónkate), sharing no form of behavior with the bearer of the identical title in the boys' initiations except for his marching at the end of the ceremonial column. His sole function is to eat the heads of game killed by the pepkahą'k, these parts being taboo to younger men. The incumbent, Kenkum, was one of the most insignificant men in the village.

4. Two girl associates (pepkahą'kkuičwę'i), one from each moiety—Konkré from the eastern, Pačédn from the western; the latter was already betrothed. Like the mekuičwę'i of initiation festivals they are taboo to their male fellow internes. Each girl had among these one kinsman of her own moiety who regarded himself as her guardian and stood behind her during the singing.

5. Two messenger boys (kra'tō'ipakatire). Prentáp represented the eastern, Krokočą' the western moiety; they were about eight years old and their main duty was to carry back into the village residences the gourd food bowls emptied by the pepkahą'k. They are officially the girls' sleeping mates, and the rules of internment apply to them only in part.

6. Two "children" (mehikra) of the pepkahą'k, boys of about five, whose internment was not rigidly enforced.

7. Twelve young men, the true pepkahą'k, six from each moiety. Their number, however, was soon raised to eighteen. All of them had graduated from the cycle of initiation that closed in 1929, but had not taken part in the preceding pepkahą'k of 1928. None of the boys secluded in the preceding year's ketúaye was admitted among the pepkahą'k.

527 522 *Capture; preparations.*—Directly after the evening dance of April 18, the pepkahą'ktum, that is, those who had taken part in 1928, formed a circle, which is characteristic for the pepkahą'k songs, assembled in the plaza, and began to sing in an undertone. Beside them stood the two chiefs Ropką' and Hąktokót; the two secretly appointed catchers, To'pō' and Kuikō', watched carefully and carried on a whispered conference. Suddenly To'pō' ran toward and around the dancers, clasped Iką', a vigorous young man of the western moiety, from behind, and led him to the junction of the plaza and the radial path thither from Iką''s maternal home. There, without releasing him, he made him face the center of the plaza. At once Kuikō' stepped up to the captive, divested him of his earplugs and arm bands, and while combing his front hair with the fingers of both hands he sang, "Itamčwę' [my nephew] yaklé [is glad] pemā he!" Then out from among the spectators at the periphery of the plaza leaped the snake doctor—a hąpín of Iką''s—dancing and screaming like a madman behind the captive, dug up the earth dog-fashion with his hands, and retracted his prepuce, simulating the movements of cohabitation—all this to betoken his insane joy over his hąpín's belonging to the pepkahą'k. The same procedure was followed with another young man of the eastern moiety, one Mikrō', Chief Hąktokót's eldest son. These two were the mamkyē'ti of the present pepkahą'k; of the two, Iką' played the more prominent part in the festival.

Similarly, ten others were caught from among the spectators and put in position, always alternately from the two moieties. Some fled into their maternal house to hide, but all in vain. With each captive the same grotesque scene with a hąpín was repeated. One of the spectators suddenly straddled his sword club as if it were a hobby horse, wielded his trumpet like a whip, and capered at a gallop behind his captive "friend." Another met his hąpín's pinčwę'i behind the friend's back, put his arms around her, and pretended to cohabit with her.

527 After sunset the new pepkahą'k marched a little way on the street leading westward out of the village and camped in the steppe for the night.

X796 527 On April 19 the kinsmen of the pepkahą'k constructed a road reserved solely for their use. It was not very wide but neat and went around the outside of the boulevard close by the rear of the residences. The pepkahą'k in the meantime built their seclusion hut (pepkahą'kyũkwá) on the south side of the village, about two hundred and fifty meters beyond the periphery; connected it by a broad road with the north-south street dividing the village into its moieties; cleared a space in front of the hut; and constructed a perfectly straight path from their retreat to the common water supply for the village, at the crossing of the western street and the Ponto Creek. They made no well of their own. Thus two days passed.

Wasp ceremony.—During the night of April 19–20 it rained violently until midnight. When the storm had ceased, the pepkahą'ktum (of 1928) formed a circle in the plaza, with their then girl associates—both now married—in their midst, viz., Kentapí and one of Ropką''s daughters. Thus they sang the pepkahą'k songs, while beside them a man with a ceremonial lance and his hąpín constantly ran rapidly back and forth in a north-south direction, loudly crying "čũ-hã!" at every about-face. This is customary in order to hasten the sunrise when a ceremony is to continue until daybreak. Actually the two men kept up this running and yelling until the sun rose.

527, 575 [794] Shortly before 6 P.M. the Duck society assembled at the south point of the house circle in front of Yądkré's house. The Ducks are hostile to the pepkahą'k, whose allies are the Falcons, the King Vultures, and especially the Clowns. During the night the Ducks had brought from the steppe a large nest of wasps with its inmates and the branch from which it was hanging; clandestinely they had set it up about fifteen paces from the door of the seclusion hut. Now they marched to the plaza to range themselves in two parallel north-south lines. Before them stood a Falcon, continuously uttering the falcon cry. Meanwhile the women assembled near the retreat. Suddenly the Ducks, led by chiefs Ropką' and Kukrãčą', came rushing at the hut with the intention of hurling the nest into it. But before they had reached the nest the women fell upon it with bunches of twigs and knocked it asunder. Nevertheless Kukrãčą' picked up a piece of the destroyed nest, dashed to the house of retreat, and knocked against the mat-covered door, behind which the pepkahą'k remained in complete silence. But forthwith half a dozen women jumped at him, beating and scratching him severely. Then all marched to the plaza. The women, some of whom had been stung several times, carried off as trophies the fragments of the nest they had destroyed.

Additions to personnel.—Next Konkré and Pačédn were brought to the plaza as the girl associates to join in seclusion. Then the pepkahą'k were augmented by eight further captives. They included four participants in the last preceding performance of the festival; one of them, Tépkakró was reckoned an adept at the songs so that at a pinch he might substitute for old Ką'e, the singing teacher or precentor at all festivals of this category. Moreover, the two messenger boys were conducted to the scene.

After their ranks had thus been filled, the pepkahą'k retired to their hut of internment. The Ducks and the Falcons, however, ran screaming toward the houses of their girl associates, newly chosen for the current festive period, and led them out to participate regularly henceforth in the dances and ceremonies of these societies.

527 *Seclusion.*—Apart from their daily circuit for food collection and their songs every night, one notices the pepkahą'k very little during the next months. On April 28 the directors suddenly decided that the number of participants was really still too small and captured the supplementary six youths, as already mentioned.

x794 The pepkahą'k mostly idled in their hut, but frequently went bathing—always in 527 their fixed marching order: first came the mamkyē'ti, the old mekapónkate bringing up the rear, and the two mekuičwę'i in the middle. Some members occasionally did a little hunting, incidentally one day stealing and eating an ox that did not belong to the Indians. They fashioned the carved heads of their wands and the rest of the decorative outfit, consisting of bandoleers and neckbands, sometimes also including wristlets of tucum cords dyed black. Apart from this they loafed, separated by moieties into two rows along the longitudinal walls of their rectangular hut.

Food collection.—Every afternoon toward 4:30, food is collected from the participants' maternal homes in the same ceremonial fashion. At this hour the pepkahą'k leave their hut very slowly and softly, without saying a word, and march to the village in the prescribed order. The first villager to catch sight of them calls the attention of the community to the fact by a piercing yell, so that the inmates of the houses may prepare the food for the performers. As soon as the pepkahą'k have reached the path reserved for them outside the circle of domiciles, they turn to the right into this road of theirs and follow it, passing from south to east, north and west around the village. No one meets them or looks at them during this procession. When the silent parade comes to pass the rear door of the maternal home of a pepkahą'k, one of his kinswomen steps out, and without looking at him, hands him a gourd bowl filled with food, whereupon she quickly retires as the column slowly moves on.

After making the circuit of the village and receiving each one his bowl of food, they marched on to their hut, in front of which there is a scaffold of poles on which the bowls can be set down. In the space before the hut a great many mats are lying about for the pepkahą'k to rest on. The leaders (mamkyē'ti) first segregate the share of the two directors (hapą'nkate); the remainder they divide equally among all those present, who consume the food while sitting on the mats. The next morning the errand boys return the empty bowls to the houses.

Evening and night.—At nightfall the two directors regularly meet in the plaza, then jointly go to the place of internment. At the margin of the space before the house the leaders receive them, in a soft voice report to them, and answer their questions. This conference may last a fairly long time, for at least toward the close of the celebration the directors have to convey many instructions and explanations for the following day. Sometimes the two directors linger on for a while in the space in front of the house, but never very long; for the most part they soon retire, carrying off their allotment of food. Except for these visits in the evening they never come to the hut of seclusion.

After the directors' visit, when it has grown quite dark, that is, about 7 P.M., the old precentor goes to the pepkahą'k, usually accompanied by the two girls secluded as associates during the preceding celebration; they are to give instructions in singing to their young successors and otherwise to aid them. The pepkahą'k were always glad to see me join their number with the carved staff that had been presented to me.

As soon as the precentor has arrived, one of the leaders produces a protracted sound on his horn whistle, a signal to the villagers that the pepkahą'k songs are about to start and that during the chants all loud noise, including the barking of [293] dogs, is to be suppressed. The mats are pushed into place, and each member grasps his staff, these insignia varying in length all the way from 1 to 1.60 m., but being always provided with a carved head. The staff and the black cord decoration are the badges of membership.

X796 527 533 The pepkahą'k sit in a circle on the mats, with a fixed position of their legs, grasp each staff at about the level of the head and brace it vertically against the ground. In the middle of the circle sits the old precentor, opposite him the girls. The chant begins in very low and deep tones, in sharply stressed two-fourths time, for the singers rhythmically rock their bodies with a circular movement from the right forward toward the left, always resting on their staffs. The girl associates, who are without staffs, sit immobile. From the village this initial chant sounds almost like the muffled, rhythmic noise of a machine in motion. After a while there are songs with words. Now the girls' loud and clear notes drown the dull masculine chorus of men and youths. After a while all rise and continue their songs standing, always propped on their staffs and lightly stamping their right feet during the rotary movement of their bodies. Thus the songs continue from seven till midnight or even later. Between every two stanzas there is a short intermission, often hardly a second in duration; at greater intervals a longer pause is interpolated, during which all sit down and rest. No one utters a word throughout the entire performance, only the leaders occasionally whisper some direction. If the nocturnal bird called *rasga-mortalha* by the Brazilians (*Caprimulgus* sp.) utters his cry during a song, the chant abruptly ceases. Ordinarily some forty stanzas are sung each night.

Kentapí, the girl associate of 1928, who still remembered most of the texts spontaneously and as Ką'e's niece could easily get relevant information, dictated to me painfully (for like all other informants, she would constantly lose the context) a number of stanzas, but she was able to translate them no more than any fellow villager. So far as I credit myself with grasping the meaning, the lines refer exclusively to animals, especially to birds and their food, each verse dealing with a single species:

539
1. hinarí karakõčẽ' kukrį'ti
   ? soar king vultures
2. kaka teyarĩ tomó pųpų're ha teyarĩ tomó
   ? step waterfowl ? step
3. yu krẽkahą'ka kõrat nayeneką'
   ? maracanã ? ?
4. hõtire, hõtire vinekpikąepičą ta'nõlamã
   curica curica no food ? wait
5. krẽtire krẽtire nekupekuipečą nehõkačą
   periquito periquito eat ? ?
6. hikuti takąmá punaputõ
   tiuba seeks a hole
7. čuti kaką'ra kaka punatẽ napui kačwę napui kaprõ'
   big mutuca horsefly blood
   maipõ' napučáne čukaką'ra

527 177 733 *Disturbances.*—The intrusion of Neobrazilian whisky dealers now interfered with the normal procedure. One of the leaders of the pepkahą'k was found on the steppe dead drunk, and the girl associates began to break seclusion every night to sleep in their mothers' houses for fear of the constantly besotted members. I asked Kentapí whether the same lack of discipline had characterized the festival in 1928 when she had served as associate. She was very indignant, her brother Pąnhí being one of the present drunkards, and declared that no whisky had got to the society on the previous occasion, the leaders had rigorously maintained order, she herself had been tied up for hours for having once broken internment and sneaked off to her mother's home. That year the girl associates had felt perfectly safe by day or night; no one had so much as thought of undue liberties. Also the pepkahą'k had suffered no dearth of meat then and felt no need to steal strangers' cattle. The mem-

796 bers had made hunting trips for days into the wooded Serra do Alpercatas and
527 returned with considerable smoked meat especially of wild pigs. On one occasion
177 her father, Nyõ'hí, had shot three ostriches on one day and donated two to the
733 pepkahą'k.

The next day I confiscated a whisky dealer's stock, then when the council invited me, as usual, to join their evening session, I seriously remonstrated with them because
[123] of the degeneration of the festival into a drunken carousal, pointing out the fatal consequences of such contempt for old tradition on the entire tribal organization. Finally I said that in such circumstances I no longer cared to attend the celebration and would depart. Fortunately an appeal to ancient usage almost always produces a good effect on these Indians. The elders were visibly ashamed, took my part and acted accordingly, so that the excesses ceased and the festival was resumed according to program.

527 *Ducks and Falcons.*—During the entire period of seclusion these societies main-
575 tained a holiday spirit in the village by almost daily dances and log races. Since
476 sundry families were behind schedule with their rice harvest, they repeatedly called on these societies for aid, which was always readily granted. The entire organization would then move for several days to the applicants' farm, loaf, and dance half of the time, but assist at the harvest during the remainder. As compensation they were content with receiving their board and a small quantity of rice, which the girl associates were told to prepare for a common meal in the lodge on the members' return to the village. The homeward trip of course always took the form of a log race.

527 *Various activities.*—On May 20 greater variety was ushered in with a race arranged by the pepkahą'k from the plaza to their hut of seclusion. On the next day the villagers began carefully to clear the radial paths of grass and rough spots, beginning with the paths leading from the leaders' houses to the plaza. But the requisite labor was not performed by the inmates of a house, but by the hąpín of the pepkahą'k in question, whose kin compensated his "friend" by a gourd bowl filled with food. In the meantime the pepkahą'k themselves fixed the street leading westward outside the village, continuing as far as the Ponto Creek crossing so that the road almost resembled an automobile highway.

On May 24 these labors of the pepkahą'k were finished. Even several days previously they had begun making mats of burity bast, and now this work was zealously continued.

527 On the morning of the 24th the Ducks and the Falcons ran a race around the boule-
vard, then the two societies and their girls, forming one long line along the same
575 street, danced from house to house, collecting victuals. With these they moved into the steppe to hunt falcons in order to secure the large quantity of down required for festive body decoration. Those owning guns received ammunition from me.

619 At 7 P.M. on June 3 all the men assembled in the plaza and grouped themselves in
four divisions. This arrangement, which is peculiar to the King Vulture ceremonial,
527 rests on a distinctive principle, viz., the matrilineal descent of the population ac-
794 cording to the *tribes* that gradually contributed to the present village community.
For the Rąmkõ'kamekra have come to incorporate fragments of the Čą'kamekra, the
575 Karē'kateye, and the Krõ'rekamekra (pp. 30–32, 35). Of the Apą'nyekra only two survivors remain in the village, while the Hõtí (=Apinayé) immigrants are quite extinct, so that these two tribes are no longer represented at the segregation in question. The indigenous and numerically quite preponderant Rąmkõ'kamekra occupy the very center, the three surviving immigrant fragments are grouped along the periphery of the plaza according to the direction from which their ancestors

x

796 migrated. On the evening of June 3 the grouping was apparently tried only ten-
575 tatively.

●527 Early on the morning of June 4 the Ducks and Falcons arranged a log race. The ensuing episode really had no connection with the festival. In the presence of many
619 onlookers the men of the kupẽ plaza group now glued falcon down on a youth of their own group whose illness had prevented participation in the last year's ketúaye
527 initiation and painted him with urucú, all this taking place in his maternal home.
575 The kupẽ thereupon camped at their proper station, the south-southwest corner of the plaza, whither the youth brought them a gourd bowl filled with food.

At 4:30 P.M. the men resumed the previous evening's places in the plaza according to tribal affiliation. Then, each group by itself marched in single file around
[794] the boulevard, each tribe receiving victuals from the matrilineal homes of its King Vulture members. The food was subsequently distributed and consumed in the plaza.

During this night the pepkahą'k ought to have sung together with their girls until daybreak; but the weather only permitted this activity till midnight.

On June 5 there was another sunrise log race arranged by the Ducks and the Falcons, followed by a shooting match in front of the Falcons' lodge.

In the meantime the women and girls had made for their pepkahą'k relatives new chest and neck cords (horkakačẽ') of the finest burity bast. The messengers collected these ornaments for the pepkahą'k, who dyed them and their newly made earplugs, also in part their own bodies, yellow with the sap of the urucú root. Then they put on this new decoration, but took pains to hide some coils of the finest cords in their hair, their girdle, their armpits, even gluing them to the soles of their feet. Two Clowns joined them, wearing bandoleers and girdles of the coarsest burity bast, which one of them had also wrapped around his ankles; instead of staffs they carried rough branches with foliage.

After the close of the Duck-Falcon log race the women assembled in the two houses between which the street from the seclusion hut merges into the village. There they waited while the two old directors of the festival met in the plaza and marched toward the hut of seclusion. Soon the pepkahą'k with their yellow cord ornamentation began to parade toward the village. But as they approached the houses where the women were waiting, these rushed upon them in full force and took off their cords in order to make girdles of them for themselves. But the pepkahą'k, robbed of all but their concealed cords, marched on along their external road beyond the circle of houses and, as usual, gathered food in their maternal homes. One of the two Clowns marched ahead, sweeping the road ahead with his leafy bough; his mate brought up the rear. Both got an ample share of food handed out to them from the homes of the pepkahą'k.

On June 9 the pepkahą'k once more decorated themselves in their hut with the yellow cords saved by concealment. In pairs and trios they sneaked backward into the steppe, describing a big arc around the outside of the village, and afterward reassembled toward the opposite (north) side. One of them climbed a high steppe tree near by, from which he could survey the entire village. The others hid in the grass, shielding themselves from the notice of chance passers-by, behind lopped-off branches.

As soon as the lookout saw the two directors meeting in the plaza in order to depart for the seclusion hut, he slid down the tree and reported to his comrades, who now, shielding themselves with their boughs, cautiously slunk through the grass toward the northern exit of the north-south street of the village. As soon as they

x796 had arrived there, they leapt up, rapidly took up positions in marching order, and
575 entered the village. There the women and girls at once pounced upon them from all sides and robbed them of their remaining yellow cord decoration.

527 On the boulevard the pepkahą'k divided up by moieties, the eastern members going around to the left, the western members to the right; each one entered his mother's house by the front door and received a bowl of food there. At the southern exit of the north-south street the two companies met and jointly marched to their retreat. One Clown, wearing an old, completely dilapidated Neobrazilian straw hat, limped after them.

527 In the afternoon all the uninterned villagers assembled in the plaza, where a very youthful apprentice in magic—though under surveillance of his master, chief
756 Hąktokót—subjected them to a preventive treatment against fatigue. Each in turn stepped up and was fanned, both from the front and back, with a sucupira branch. This was to enable him to endure to the very end the terminal pepkahą'k ceremony, which was to begin two days later and to last five days, part of the proceedings being rather strenuous.

On June 11, before sunrise, all the Ducks went bathing and then ran singing along the boulevard to the pepkahą'k retreat, where many women had already assembled, also five members of the Clown society, among them their two girl associates. These latter and one of the male Clowns wore rather crude face masks made of *Lagenaria* gourd cut into roundish shape, with two slits for eyes and a dentate slit for the mouth (pl. 40, *b*). The masks were painted white and red and fastened in front of the face by a cord running around the back of the head. The faces of the maskless men were painted black; one of them was carrying a crooked, gnarled branch for a club. On the northern side of the space in front of the retreat an earth mound had been erected as a buffer; it was roof-shaped, about 30 cm. in height, and 80 cm. long. On the upper edge of its ridge a narrow lath of burity leafstalk was attached longitudinally by two long rods stuck through its ends into the mound.

527 The pepkahą'k were neither to be seen nor heard, remaining silent behind the closed door of their hut. But when the throng of Ducks came rushing on, Uvę't, the
526 champion marksman of the pepkahą'k, suddenly stepped outdoors, armed with a
575 bow of yellow piquy wood and a bundle of arrows. He threw the arrows down in front of him, except for the one which he fitted to the string. This he shot with full force against the buffer, so that the cane shaft came down flat on the surface of the burity shoot, bounded off obliquely upward, rose high into the air, and only struck the ground far ahead. This form of buffer shooting, vato'tē'k, is a national sport of all the steppe Timbira, who practice it from childhood on. The archer whose arrow flies farthest after its impact is regarded as the victor, winning all the arrows behind his own.

Immediately a Duck stepped forth and took aim at the buffer. But at the very moment when he was about to let fly, the masked Clowns, with wild shouts and menacing gestures, swooped down upon him, trying to confuse him so that he would make a poor shot, thus enabling their friends, the pepkahą'k, to win. They kept quiet when the pepkahą'k archer's turn came.

Thus the Ducks and the pepkahą'k continued shooting in competition. A boy gathered up the arrows discharged and took them back to the archers' stance. The Ducks won. Finally the two marksmen ran a race, holding their bows in their hands, and following the pepkahą'k street which led to the water hole, and this time the
575 pepkahą'k won.

527 *Log race.*—These competitive games were followed by the preparations for a log

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race of the type characteristic of the meipimrą'k period, between the kę' and the atų'k. In their retreat the pepkahą'k united with their friends, the King Vultures, and there they split up into kę' and atų'k with their appropriate decorative paint—the kę' using vertical and the atų'k horizontal black parallel lines. Witnessing these preliminaries in the seclusion hut, I noticed a cord stretched horizontally from which were hanging numerous coils of spun cotton string and beaded cords. These had been made by the pepkahą'k for subsequent use by their kinswomen in manufacturing the final decorative outfit for the members.

There followed a log race—not, however, as might be surmised from the preparations, of kę' versus atų'k, but of the united pepkahą'k and King Vultures against the Ducks. Nearly all the girls and women of the village accompanied the racers, carrying gourd bottles with water for them.

In the evening the pepkahą'k divided by moieties on the left and right side along the boulevard, each going to his mother's house, where for the first time he resumed eating with his matrilineal relatives.

Haircut.—In the same night all women and girls who stood in the pinčwę'i relation to any Falcon had their hair clipped short in the back of the neck. A bright fire was burning outside the Falcons' lodge at the east point of the boulevard. The Falcons marched round the boulevard, singing their choral-like chants. Toward 8 P.M. they formed a circle outside their house of assembly, with their girl associates in the center, and in this position they continued chanting, while their pinčwę'i, some accompanied by their families, were assembling somewhat to one side by several little fireplaces. An elderly Indian holding in his hands a pair of scissors obtained from me and accompanied by his assistant walked along the boulevard, loudly crying "tiyõ'aõ'aõ'a!" (tiyõ' = Portuguese tezoura, scissors). As soon as his circuit had led him back to the Falcons' pinčwę'i, he cut off the long hair from the necks of several women; his assistant tied together the tuft clipped off and attached one after another to a long cord, while the pinčwę'i were bandying jokes about their altered appearance. Then the two men, continually shouting, went to the plaza, returned, and again clipped off tufts of hair from the necks of a number of other women. At 10 P.M. the last haircut was completed, whereupon the Falcons fell silent, and everybody went home.

End of internment.—Even before sunrise the entire village assembled on both sides of the broad street leading to Ponto Creek that had been specially built by the pepkahą'k for the ceremony to come next. About a hundred meters beyond the circle of houses the street was barred by a mat screen about 1.50 m. high, behind which the pepkahą'k and their two girl associates had slept during the night. In front of this wall, parallel to each other and in the direction of the street, were lying two poles (avarvrę're) 12–13 m. in length, which the Falcons had chopped down and deposited here on the day before. At the same time the Clowns had hidden two posts about 2 m. long in the grass near by. The two long poles were laid on leaves, and a young Indian painted them red. Then an attractively painted man hung with all sorts of ornaments knelt down first between the tops, then between the butt ends of the poles, and sang with outstretched arms. As soon as he had finished his act his decoration was removed. Then the men of each moiety raised one of the poles, running with it to the intersection of the street and the house circle. There they laid the poles down for a moment, but at once lifted them again, and carried them to the plaza. There the men of the eastern moiety put theirs on the west side, with the butt toward the east; the western men put theirs on the east side, with the butt toward the west. Now a hole was dug for each pole on the east and

x796 west sides of the plaza, respectively, the distance of the holes from the butts being
575 made exactly the same. Suddenly both groups hastily raised their posts, set them into the holes, and fixed them firmly in place by stamping, each team trying to
577 outdo the other in speed. The eastern moiety erected the pole standing on the west side, and vice versa.

They had not yet completed the job when two Clowns, carrying their posts on their shoulders, came rushing to the plaza by different streets. There they laid down the posts in north-south lines parallel to and beside each other. Suddenly lifting them, they competed with each other in planting the sticks in two holes already in evidence on the north and south sides.

After the erection of the avarvrę′re the pepkahą′k moved around the boulevard, dispersing to their several maternal homes, whence they no longer returned to their retreat, since their seclusion was ended.

The avarvrę′re remained standing on the plaza for a week without anyone's paying the least attention to them. Then they were removed and used as building material.

Clowns.—Now the Clowns, whose girl associates were holding carrying baskets, danced from house to house round the boulevard, headed by two men with dance rattles. People from all the maternal houses of the pepkahą′k brought out food and laid it in the girls' carrying baskets as a token of gratitude for the way the Clowns had helped the pepkahą′k. During this episode the chief Kukrăčą′, the hindmost dancer in the Clowns' line, tried to sneak into the houses in order to steal victuals, but the women generally caught him in the act and drove him out with blows. The circuit ended before the Clowns' meeting house at the north point of the village.

In various houses the inmates now began to prepare meat pies, which were subsequently baked in an earth oven behind the house.

In the afternoon the Ducks and the Clowns performed the following dramatic scene. At 3:30 P.M. a man and a boy of the Duck society ran around the boulevard. In their mouths they were holding flat, round whistles made of a snail helix perforated in the center, and with these instruments they produced a twittering noise mimicking wild ducks on the wing. Soon "eggs" were set outside the door of each Duck's maternal home—such fruits as oranges and mangos, but also other forms of food. The two marchers circled round the "eggs" twittering and crying "kuyū′," after which they trotted on. Then they made a second circuit, shouting and twittering, and collected all the "eggs" outside the doors.

In the meantime a huge gourd bowl, painted with urucú at the edge, had been brought to the plaza to represent the Ducks' "lake." The members assembled round it and stooped to drink. The man and the boy joined them, and now "the Ducks laid their eggs," that is, they concealed the fruits and other provisions in the sand and grass at the margin of the plaza.

Meanwhile, from the door of his own society's lodge, a Clown observed the doings of the Ducks and finally sent one of his colleagues to the plaza to find out whether the Ducks were really by the lake. He found them standing around the water bowl. Then the Clown, arming himself with a gigantic crooked bow and a shapeless arrow 2½ m. long, approached the Ducks, and shot off his arrow over them. At once "the Ducks flew into the air," that is, they ran to the creek and bathed, while all the Clowns came and gathered the concealed "eggs."

On the same afternoon the King Vultures' hąpín swept the radial paths leading from their "friends'" maternal homes to the plaza.

X796 575 527 *Mat dance.*—At 7 P.M. the entire population of the village gathered in the plaza, the families building small fires at the periphery and camping there. In the middle the pepkahą′k sang and formed a circle round the King Vultures. Some days previously the pepkahą′k had turned over to their pinčwę′i the burity mats as soon as they had finished them. Each King Vulture now received from his sister or female parallel cousin a mat and a little meat pie, but at once handed these gifts to his pinčwę′i. These female "friends" of the King Vultures now sat with folded mats in the circle around the dancers. When the night grew cold, they rose and covered themselves with the mats, standing at midnight like pillars. But then they opened the mats in the back and joining one mat to the other formed a compact circle around the dancers to shield them from the cold. Judging from my personal experience, this aim was actually attained. From the outside nothing of the group appeared except the closed circular wall of mats.

Meanwhile the dancers took turns walking to and fro with a ceremonial lance from north to south outside the group and crying loudly "čũhã!" each time before facing about on the south side. As noted, this rite purports to hasten the coming of daybreak.

527 575 794 *More haircutting; feathering; Ducks.*—On the same night the long occipital hair of all hąpín and pinčwę′i of either the King Vultures or the pepkahą′k was cut short and united with the tufts clipped in the preceding night from the Falcons' pinčwę′i. The resulting large bundle was subsequently hung from a branch about 6 m. high in the steppe to the west of the village, whence I took it down for my collection. This ceremony lasted all night; only at daybreak the pepkahą′k and the King Vultures jointly danced around the boulevard, then dispersed to their maternal homes.

On the following morning (June 13) the pepkahą′k, accompanied by their two girl associates and those of the last preceding celebration of the festival, gathered together in a house on the northeast of the circle of houses, where falcon down was stuck on them. At the same hour the Falcons, each in his maternal home, were similarly decorated. Three little children—"young falcons"—were also feathered with periquito down and later took part in the ceremony, straddling the shoulders of adults. While the completely ornamented pepkahą′k were singing in the house, a Falcon "flew" from house to house, that is, used his arms to mimic flying, and assembled his mates, who jointly crossed the plaza and marched straight to the house where the pepkahą′k were still singing. On the space in front of the house they encountered the members' hąpín and pinčwę′i, who were dancing in one line and all holding a long pole horizontally before them. Opposite to them the hąpín and pinčwę′i of the King Vultures were similarly dancing in a parallel line with another pole. Two Falcons, holding staffs, and two erstwhile girl associates carrying the "young falcons" on their shoulders, walked back and forth between the two poles for a while, then the Falcons departed for the plaza, soon followed by the pepkahą′k and the undecorated King Vultures.

In the meantime, the female relatives of the several pepkahą′k were making meat pies, which they turned over to their kinsmen's pinčwę′i, who distributed them in the houses.

Then the Nestor of the village, flanked by two other old men who had once belonged to the Duck organization, stepped into the plaza facing east. The Ducks took positions behind this trio. Presently the Falcons rushed out of their lodge on the opposite side and bombarded the Ducks with pieces of sugar cane, yam tubers, oranges, etc. The attacked party evaded the missiles by deftly jumping aside, but

X796 several nevertheless received slight scratches. Then the Ducks faced westward and were similarly assaulted by the pepkahą'k of the preceding celebration.

● 527 575 794 *King Vulture ceremony.*—Toward 4 P.M. each of the thirty-four King Vultures in his maternal home had his chest, back, arms, and thighs decorated with bands of falcon down three fingers wide, the intervening bare spaces of the limbs and body being painted with urucú. They further donned the dorsal ornament that is exclusively theirs, viz., a bundle of carefully smoothed bamboo rods (popók) of lead-pencil thickness and about 30 cm. long. In the following ceremony all the thirty-four King Vultures exactly patterned their behavior on that of their leader Tunkō', whose movements they immediately imitated, producing a very pretty effect.

Exactly at the same time as Tunkō' all stepped out of their homes on the boulevard, where a big gourd bowl with food had been set down for each man. All made flying movements with a leftward lunge and outstretched arms, then took the bowl into the left arm, followed the radial paths of their homes halfway to the plaza, constantly making leftward lunges, dragging the right foot after, and mimicking flying with their free right arms. At the halting place they set down the bowls and for a while repeated the flying movements with both arms. Then they picked up the bowls again and in the manner described advanced to the plaza, where they all arrived at the very same moment from all directions and united in a circle. Setting down the bowls, they continued for a while with flying movements with both arms. Meanwhile the other men of the village had been standing in the plaza, segregated by the four tribal divisions. Now they approached, picked up the bowls, and distributed the food in them among themselves.

Thereupon the King Vultures marched to a house on the northwest side of the village, where all deposited their dorsal pendants on a mat placed on the ground. Their kinswomen picked them up, sheathed them in specially plaited burity bast containers, and then stowed them away. The King Vultures then marched back to the plaza and sat down on the west side.

Meanwhile the Falcons and Ducks, preceded by two men with ceremonial lances, jointly danced in a double line round the boulevard, singing. This dance announced the imminent slaughter of a tame taitetú pig on the following day.

Toward sunset a bearer of the pepkahą'k lance ran to an eastern house, out of which soon stepped the pepkahą'k girls, preceded by two men with dance rattles. They wore broad, undyed cotton wristlets with thick tassels, and down each one's back was hanging a little bowl. Slowly singing and dancing, the group moved toward the plaza, while the lance bearer was constantly running back and forth between them and the plaza. When the dancers had at last reached the plaza, the lance bearer thrust his lance into the ground, whereupon the two girls, who had been joined by their predecessors of the last preceding celebration, together with the rattle bearers formed a circle around it, and sang while dancing toward and away from the lance.

The day closed with a round dance in the plaza by the united pepkahą'k, Falcons, Ducks, and King Vultures, followed by a final dance around the boulevard.

575 527 *Killing of pig.*—On June 14, the last day of the festival, a tamed taitetú pig was killed, as in the ketúaye and pepyé festivals.

Directly after sunrise the Ducks appeared with cudgels, ran around the boulevard, then across the plaza toward the house of the woman who owned the taitetú. The beast was led to the space in front of the house and immediately clubbed to death by the Ducks, who dragged it into the steppe amid the loud lamentations of x796 575 527 all the male and female residents of the dwelling. Similarly the Ducks treated a tamed paca (*Coelogenys paca*). For lack of another tame taitetú, the pepkahą'k, Falcons, and Clowns then killed a domestic pig, which was cooked in Yadkré's house. In the meantime they and the Ducks, who were carrying the taitetú and the paca, marched on the north street beyond the village to the next ford of the creek, about three kilometers away, where they camped beside the road and prepared the meat. This was accompanied by a sort of exchange of wives: the Ducks' women joined the company of pepkahą'k, Falcons, and Clowns, and the wives of members of these three societies went to the Ducks. That this exchange, however, involved anything beyond preparation of food by the women for their new associates, I was not able to determine.

Log race.—When all had eaten, bathed and rested, two pairs of race logs were brought, which had been fashioned near by on the previous day—a heavier pair for the males and a lighter one for the females, for the return to the village was to conform to the traditional log-race pattern. At 4 P.M. there was first the customary dance near the logs, which were lying in pairs on the street, then the women took up theirs and ran off, the men following after a considerable interval with their own logs. The women's pair had again, as usual, been made too heavy: especially on sandy knolls they were barely able to move, had to drop them several times, and overcame the final climb into the village only with the aid of several men and youths, just as in the corresponding ketúaye race of the preceding year.

Fire ceremony.—After this double race there was a performance peculiar to the pepkahą'k in its final stage.

A fire was kindled in the plaza; around it some twenty young men and half-grown lads, decorated with various ornaments, knives, cloths, spoons, and other goods, formed a dancing ring under the direction of a precentor. A number of men, similarly decorated, stood outside the circle, and behind them their kinswomen with gourd bottles filled with water. A certain Čąre meanwhile ran with his lance from house to house and brought a number of young women and girls to the plaza, where he assigned places to them, each one standing at the intersection of the plaza and her mother's radial path. Taking a brand from the fire, the precentor of the dancers handed it to one of the girls, who ran straight toward one of the men and thrust the brand at him. Those girls who were or had been vų'tę', pepkuičwę'i, or pepkahą'kkuičwę'i only made a pretense at thrusting and laid the brand down at the man's feet; but the present or former girl associates of the several men's societies thrust their brands with serious intent, so that the one attacked had to guard himself against a real burn. As soon as the girl took the offensive, the victim's kinswomen came rushing up and, irrespective of whether he had been struck or not, poured water on him from head to foot. A matrilineal kinsman of the assailant then divested the man of all his decorations, but was then under obligation to compensate him with a counter gift on the next day. This scene with the brand was repeated until the last of the males present had been stripped of his ornaments.

Final procedures.—In the evening twilight the pepkahą'k, Falcons, and King Vultures, on the one hand, and the Ducks, on the other, appeared for a circuit around the boulevard in opposite directions. Again each participant received some object from his maternal home—almost always something of civilized origin, more particularly, cloth or iron tools. Whatever was thus obtained was laid before the [794] owner of the killed taitetú and of the paca (but not before the pig's owner), these women sitting each in the space in front of her dwelling. A clown also appeared bringing his society's offering of an indemnity—a wholly useless tattered old basket

X796 575 ● 527 Thus closed the pepkahą'k. On the following morning the several collaborating societies and the pepkahą'k arranged a shooting contest on the radial streets. This ntinued for hours until the eastern vų'tę' brought an enormous gourd bowl filled food, which was jointly consumed in the plaza. Thus the vų'tę' ceremonial once more gained dominance.

TEPYARKWÁ

527 773 This is still another of the three major festivals one of which is intercalated during years without initiation ceremonies. Tep means "fish"; yarkwá, "its mouth" (figuratively, "its song"); the designation of the festival thus signifies "Fish Song."

Origin myth.—As usual, this explains not the ultimate origin, but the alleged loan of the ceremony from previous performers. The tale recalls the Pųkóbye myth about Mummers' costumes (p. 202).

[539] The Indians had planted their plots; having nothing to eat before the harvest, they moved to settle for some time on the west bank of the Tocantins, where there were many babassu palms.

After a while two young men were sent back to inspect the state of the fields. When they got to the river, they decided to cross without the trouble of making burity leafstalk floats, merely swimming unaided. Tying their few possessions to the tips of their bows, they began to swim; but when they were precisely in midstream a huge sucuriju (*Eunectes murinus* = anaconda) loomed up out of the water near by. Then the man named Pore'téy said, "If the sucuriju devours one of us, the other shall not swim on but turn back at once and inform the people!" The snake got closer and closer, at last reaching and seizing Pore'téy. He let go his bow and trumpet and the snake devoured him. His companion, witnessing the calamity, at once turned back to the bank and hurried to camp with the news. Pore'téy's kin cried bitterly.

Three days later the sucuriju was lying on the bank bloated with its prey. A school of piabinhas (Characinid: *Tetragonopterus* sp.) noticed it as they swam past and reported the fact to the chief of fish, Suruby (*Platystoma* sp.), who dispatched another fish to verify the report. Then he called together all the fish and moved to the spot where the snake was lying. He ordered one fish to crawl into the snake's open mouth to find out what it had devoured. When the fish returned from the snake's belly, it reported having seen a man still alive, since his heart was still beating. Then Suruby bade one fish after another crawl in until the man's body grew loose and slippery. Finally he sent the jejú (*Erythrinus unitaeniatus;* these fish are covered with a slippery phlegm), which pushed the man out of the serpent's mouth. They moved and stroked him back to normal condition and washed him. When he had returned to consciousness and was suffering less pain, Suruby took him to his village and fed him.

The fishes and other water animals were just about to celebrate a great festival, so Pore'téy was able to witness the whole of the ceremonial in Suruby's company. He paid close attention, taking pains to memorize everything. When at last the fishes brought him back to land and dismissed him, he returned to his village and taught the Indians everything he had observed at the fishes' festival. Since then the Indians have celebrated the Fish Song.

527 575 *Personnel.*—This consists of seven ceremonial groups—the six plaza groups (menkąčą) plus the Clown society (me'kén), composed of members of all the plaza groups. During the festival the following ceremonial companies correspond to the plaza groups and are localized accordingly in the plaza.

Western	Eastern
kupẽ' = teprąti (small fish species)	čódn = čeučétre (stingray)
kétre = apą'n (piranha)	čẽ'pre = tẽ're (fish otter)
aučét = tep (fish, generically)	hąká = tep (fish, generically)

The Clowns take their position on the north side of the plaza, between the eastern and the western tep companies. The five Fish companies jointly form a unified whole, the Fish Otters standing segregated as their counterpart, and the Clowns in opposition to all the six others.

The actual leader of the Fish companies is the crier, kōyamprō' (water foam). His appointment by the council at some log race starts the preparations for the festival. Usually the office devolves on Koipóro, famous for his strong and deep

X196 ● 527 575 voice. He betakes himself to a certain house on the eastern side of the village that always serves as Fish lodge at a tepyarkwá, and summons the young people. All except the Clowns come painted red, irrespective of their social affiliations. The council further appoints two nominal Fish chiefs called tepti (= Suruby), wearing a forehead band with long points (the Suruby barbules). Four kutápti (= jejú) are appointed as messengers of the Fish (pl. 41, *a*). A girl about ten years old is likewise selected by the council to serve as girl crier (kōyamprõkuičwę'i) and is decorated with falcon down in the Fish lodge.

The girl associates of the several companies, except for the Clowns' (pl. 41, *b*), are appointed not by the members but by the council; the Fish Otters have only one girl, the other companies two each. In the plaza the councilors softly discussed their choice and in low tones communicated their decision to their herald, Pąrkré, who would trot off singing on his way to the girl designated and extend the tip of his sword club toward her, which she would grasp with her hand; thus he would lead her to her proper place. The girl associates of the several Fish companies are chosen from those houses in the village circle which correspond in their position to the company in the plaza.

Each Fish company has its peculiar songs, which they sing daily in their huts. Daily, too, they collect food, as described, on a march around the circle; and the Clowns "angle" for their share. The Fish Otters, who play a distinctive role, get their food from the other companies.

On the day of the decision to hold the festival there were afternoon log races of men and girls, followed by a relay race of the girls around the boulevard.

The next morning before sunrise the tepyarkwá was inaugurated by plaza dances. In the afternoon men and girls again ran log races, as well as relay races, and pairs of men raced clear across the plaza. Then followed the appointment of the girl associates as described—except in the case of the Clowns.

The several Fish companies and Fish Otters assembled in their lodge on the east side of the village, being summoned thither by the crier's prolonged, piercing yells. At 4:45 P.M. a loud patter of feet became audible in the house, and out stepped the crier, his maternal uncle, the girl crier and her special "friends" (kričwę'i).[illegible] They marched around the boulevard, the crier uttering his strident call before the maternal home of each Fish company member. Then food was brought out of each of these houses and laid on a mat in the space in front of the building. The Fish companies, in two lines, now marched slowly around the ring, headed by the crier and his companions. The crier's uncle would constantly run ahead a bit, return to the Fishes, rub together the palms of his hands, run ahead, etc. This is the customary ceremonial way of conducting any organization to a definite spot or along a definite route. One of the messengers meanwhile ran ahead, picking up the food, and handed it to the Fish before whose maternal home it had been lying.

When all the food had been gathered in, the Fishes, numbering fifty-three, marched to the plaza, forming a compact mass in its very center. The two tepti, each holding a bundle of maize cobs in his hands, ran round the group in opposite directions till they met. Then they would brandish the cobs at each other, turn face about, run in the reverse direction until they met again, and so forth.

527 575 536 *Clowns.*—In the meantime the Clowns had assembled in their lodge, also on the east side, but farther toward the north. There they prepared their grotesque decoration, including amorphous "fishing rods" consisting of a crooked, unsmoothed pole and any kind of cord for a line.

[illegible] This seems to be a variant of the usual pinčwy'i. R. H. L.

x796 575 ● 527 536 Suddenly out of the Clown lodge stepped an old man, ridiculously made up, accompanied by a young lad and a boy who were carrying grass pouches hung from their bodies. The old man was carrying the "fishing rod" and simulated walking along the edge of some body of water harboring fish. He pretended to look for a favorable place to throw his line, but encountered all manner of mishaps. First, a tocandira ant stung him so as to make him hop on one leg screaming, then he suddenly bumped his head against a wasp's nest hanging from the branch of a tree and was naturally attacked by its inmates, whereupon he burnt up the nest. All this was done so realistically that all the spectators at once understood the intended meaning, even though there were no signs of water, wasps, or fire. When he had with comical gratification ascertained the Fishes' presence, he went to the radial path leading to his company's lodge and whistled. The Clowns answered from within, but the old man looked about in amazement in all directions, finally declaring that apparently some one in the sky had answered. Then the Clowns came out of their lodge with all sorts of absurd decoration and implements, marched to the plaza, surrounded the Fishes, pretending to throw lines, and carried on their antics in other ways.[illegible]

Suddenly Chief Hąktõkót, representing the "old Fish Otter," ran yelling toward the Fish, whereupon the Fish Otter company, numbering some twenty men, separated from the rest and took positions on the east side of the plaza. Simultaneously the Fish societies proper gathered on the west. The Clowns picked up the victuals remaining in the center and betook themselves to their appropriate place on the north of the plaza, where they distributed and ate them. But while still en route the old Clown was "bitten by a snake" and wallowed on the ground with pain; two other Clowns approached, pretending to treat him, and sucked out of his sore foot string that was some meters in length!

345 575 On the following day the seven huts of the companies participating in the tepyarkwá were put up in the proper sites at the periphery of the plaza. They were small rectangular gable huts except for that of the Fish Otters, which was a conical framework of poles, and 6 m. high (pl. 42). At the center post (tě'rekuičwę'i-yapírčą, Fish Otter girl's ladder) a number of tree forks had been allowed to remain so as to permit the girl (there is only one in this company) to climb up—not to serve as a lookout, as I had once conjectured, but to save herself during the impending attack on the hut by the other Fish companies. The Clowns' hut, like everything pertaining to this organization, was crooked and poorly fashioned; on
[536] the gable side an old frayed basket was set flaglike on a crooked pole. Nor did the Clowns scruple to burn down their hut on occasion from sheer mischief and to put up another that was still worse-looking in its place.

[illegible] An earlier field trip by the author resulted in the following observations: Then the Fish chief and his retinue begin to make a pattering noise in their lodge, whereupon they move out to the boulevard and gather food from their mothers' maternal homes, while the Suruby holds a sweet potato between his teeth. The crier and the girl walk ahead to scout for food. When a collection has been made along the circuit, they march with it to the plaza, circle around it and take up positions in the center of the plaza. Soon the Clown headman comes with a gigantic bow "to inspect the fish in the lake." Then he steps aside a bit, and whistles through the hollow of his hands, thus calling his comrades, whom he tells how many fish there are in the lake. The Clowns with baskets slung over their shoulders and their uncouth rods in their hands now cautiously approach to surround the fish. They throw the ends of the line among the Fish, who tie vegetable produce to them. As soon as the Fish start a patter with their feet, the Clowns lift the rods aloft and collect the booty in their baskets for subsequent distribution in their lodge.

The Fish, however, disperse, grouping themselves once more on the plaza according to the six plaza groups, each spending the night at its appropriate station. On the following morning each group sends out one man to hunt, while the other members erect a little hut at the plaza site belonging to each group.

X796 527 575 832 In these huts the members loafed much of the day with their girl associates, who prepared the collected food, painted them, romped with them, and for the most part were not averse to a bit of philandering.[illegible] The tepràti, however, bitterly complained that Kahęrkwę′i, one of their two associates, was extraordinarily unaccommodating, would deprecate love affairs, and simply ran off when the members would not leave her alone. Thereupon they went to the council and begged for the appointment of a substitute, so Kahęrkwę′i was superseded by Ačukwę′i, who is considered a veritable gem in point of amiability. As a member of this company I spent much time in the hut and was able to observe all of this episode at close range.

575 527 Eight days later the Clowns again indulged in mad pranks. Secretly assembling near the village, in the woods by the bank of a stream, they put on their grass ornaments, that is, bandoleers, wristlets, knee bands, cravat, and forehead band with two erect brushlike tassels and long temple fringes, all of burity bast. Moreover, each Clown made for himself a pole 2 to 3 m. long; it had poker-work designs and a grass tassel below the tip. The two girl associates whom they had meanwhile selected were decorated with falcon down. Besides their cord girdles with short leaf apron, they wore forehead bands, wristlets, and bandoleers like the men's; also they were decorated with false queues over a meter in length, which except for the enormous terminal tassel were wrapped with bast and hung down to their calves. Their bandoleers resembled those of the precentresses, but were coarsely plaited of bast and had huge bast tassels.

831 515 536 The Clowns usually choose ex-vų′tę′ for their girls, conducting them from their homes with absurd antics. But at the time of the last performance witnessed, one of these women had recently been delivered of a child, so the members substituted a young married woman named Kąyarí. A jolly lass, she compensated for the shortcomings of the other associate, the ex-vų′tę′ Repíya, who somewhat resembled the above-mentioned Kahęrkwę′i in disposition, so that she was little qualified for the part of a Clowns' companion.

For sheer mischief one of the men could not refrain from putting on a girl's leaf apron, producing the same effect as a civilized man would in a woman's clothes. I explicitly emphasize that this was pure buffoonery and in no way betokened a "berdache." By way of contrast to this "bashful" Clown, another sheathed his penis in a long, slightly curved *Lagenaria* tied on so as to form a phallus 30 cm. in length.

However, the main decorative piece of this company was a female doll 60 cm in height and carved from the pith of the burity. Its face was painted with urucú, and the figure wore beaded cords around the neck, chest, wrists, and knee joints. Kąyarí acted the part of the doll's mother.

In the afternoon the Clowns suddenly marched into the village and went to their hut, where they presently enacted a series of extravagant family scenes, such as I had fortunately never witnessed in real life among the Rąmkõ′kamekra.

First, the doll's "kin" furiously attacked and beat up the "mother" for maltreatment of her child, whom she was accused of having thrown down and otherwise abused. Others took the mother's part, and she herself was not backward in vigorously defending herself, most disrespectfully dragging an old Clown along the ground by one of his legs. There ensued a scene of adultery. One Clown conducted the "mother" behind the hut, where both lay down and simulated cohabitation. Another man arrived and relieved the first. Then the transgression was discovered, precipitating a first-rate row. Finally, the "mother" devotedly sat down, took up her "child," and "nursed" it.

[illegible] According to earlier notes, one of the male members put food into the girls' mouths.

X796 During the entire festival the Clowns sing pepkahą'k songs every evening, in
memory of the pepkahą'k festival, at which they also play a great part (p. 221 ff.).
575 The Fish Otters wear forehead bands of cotton string. From these ornaments
●527 two arara tail feathers hang down the back by long cords; almost reaching the
292 ground, they form the tĕ'reyapį', that is, fish-otter tail. These feathers, nowadays
very valuable because the arara is virtually extinct, have a long history. In 1934 they formed the age-class leaders' occipital ornament at ketúaye. After the close of this initiation they were made over into an ornament called hąkyará, which goes around the forehead and down the back; the council allots it as a distinction to the best precentor in the village. This man danced and sang with it for two years, then he gave it to the Fish Otters for use as a head ornament in tepyarkwá. At the close of this festival the headbands of the tĕ're fell to the Clowns' share, and by the council's orders the feathers were to be worked over to ornament a ceremonial lance (krowačwa), to be awarded to Pąčet, head of the Clowns, in recognition of his achievements at the tepyarkwá.

575 *Close.*—When the council feels that these performances have lasted long enough,
they set a date for terminating the festival. Game is hunted and vegetable produce
527 brought from the farms. With these materials fish-shaped meat pies are made in
[252] the maternal homes of the Fish membership: the lumps are put into a mold of cipó
(*Paullinia pinnata* L.) in fish form and burity bast fins are fastened on.

In the meantime the Clowns have erected a camp in the woods by a brook, where they set up palm-leaf fronds as a "weir" and shape hooked implements of forked branches to represent the necks, heads, and bills of aquatic birds. One Clown enters the village to learn whether the pies are ready. He receives in every house a slice of flesh, which he ties to a pole and carries into his society's camp.

In the evening the Fish sing in the plaza to the shaking of rattles, after which they disperse to their six huts.

The following morning the Clowns disguise themselves in their camp in every possible way: they paint themselves grotesquely, clip their hair in part or altogether, or cut themselves two or three hair furrows, one above the other. With the long tufts clipped from the heads of youths they artificially lengthen their girl associates' hair. Thus they enter the village in the afternoon, camping and singing by a fireplace in the plaza. Now falcon down is glued on their girls' bodies. The Clowns bring their wooden bird heads and palm fronds to the plaza, where they quickly dig a circle of holes in the ground to plant the fronds, thus completing the weir. A good runner specially appointed by the council assumes the role of the jejú (kutápti). He is the first of all the Fish to enter his maternal home, receive the fish-shaped meat pie, take it under his arm, and run to the plaza, past the Clowns, and into the weir. Soon he steps out of it again and summons the other Fish, who now similarly fetch their pies from their maternal homes. They enter the weir with them, form a line that faces east and sing.

Meanwhile the Clowns pretend to crush the fish-drugging cipó. The Fish extend their pies toward them, the Clown girls enter first and seize one pie, whereupon all the Clowns try to possess themselves of the rest by attempting to spit them on the beaks of their bird heads. But the Fish break through the weir and try to escape with their pies.

575 About ten Piranhas (apą'n; *Serrasalmo* sp.) are gathered in a northwest house,
527 armed with bush-knives, and try to chop up the heron heads with which the Clowns
825 attack and drive them out. At last the two Clown girls are the first to seize two
Piranhas and rob them of their pies. Immediately the Clowns rush against the

X 796 others, attempting to impale the pies on their beaks, while the Piranhas try to escape.

●527 Five or six acangapáras (kaprąnpéyre, turtle; *Platemis* sp.) lie down on the
575 plaza, face down, with their heads resting on their arms. They are supposed to be
lying on their "eggs," represented by all manner of field fruits. The Clowns peck
825 at the acangapáras with their wooden beaks, while the latter pelt their assailants
with sand. At last the Clowns chase them away, and seize the "eggs."

Now the Stingrays (čenčétre; *Trygon* sp.) come out of their hut in the southeast of the plaza, some carrying in a mat wrapper a round meat pie in stingray shape, while others protect themselves against the attacking Clowns with pointed wands, their "stings." Finally, the Clowns succeed in impaling the pie, which the Stingrays abandon, and carry the pie to their meeting house.

Next figure the members of the čě'pre plaza group, whose hut is in the middle of the east side, next to that of the čödn. They come out of the hut with a long pie within a plaitwork of palm leaves; it represents a sucuriju (roti; anaconda). They march around the plaza with it and try to get back to their hut, but are attacked by the Clowns, who impale and capture the pie as their loot.

Then two Indians, holding long staffs, which are painted black below and red above, step out of the Fish lodge as Suassuapáras (pokahą'k, swamp deer; *Cervus paludosus*). They put their meat pies on the space in front of the lodge and take up places with their rods beside the pies. But as soon as they catch sight of the Clowns turning toward them, they carry the pies back indoors. However, at last the Clowns burst into the house and seize them.

Then two members of any plaza group whatsoever appear as Capybaras (kumtúm; *Hydrochoerus cabibara*). They deposit their pie in a house on the west side of the village circle, where the Clowns capture it.

Three Jacaré (mĩ; *Caiman niger*) follow, bringing a pie from a particular house on the east side. Always directed by Koipóro, they march toward the plaza, but are attacked by the Clowns en route and robbed of their pie.

Then, a single Indian, carrying a gourd bottle with water, impersonates a Skunk (pį̆ké; *Mephitis suffocans*). He goes to the plaza, where the two Clown girls, barking like dogs, make him stand at bay. He defends himself by splashing them with water, and they flee, howling like dogs hit by the skunk's secretion. But finally the Clowns "kill" him, too.

Finally, three Indians and several girls act as Crabs (pâi; *Cancer uçaf*). Holding nuts of the babassu (*Orbignia speciosa*) in their hands, they strike them against each other. They come out of the Clowns' meeting house, but are overtaken on their way to the plaza and despoiled of their pie by the Clowns.

This ends the whole performance.

Variant.—There is another, simpler form of this festival. While in that described the plaza groups oppose the Clowns, and the eastern opposes the western plaza groups in all log races during the festive period, the simpler form substitutes the eastern and western *age classes*. In this case only two huts are erected in the plaza, that of the Ticks (tĕre; *Ixodes* sp.) on the east, and that of the Piranhas on the west side.

771
171 Their public cult performances may be counted on the fingers of one hand, and
several years elapsed before I discovered a private act unrelated to animism.

The Sun and Moon myth of the Eastern Timbira greatly resembles that of the
773 Apinayé[illegible] and Šerénte. I heard it not only among the Rąmkō'kamekra, but also
171 wholly or in part among the Pųkóbye, Kre'pų'mkateye, Krẽyé of Bacabal, and the
Krahō'. Both characters are conceived as male and as unrelated to each other. In
Rąmkō'kamekra myth they create mankind by diving in a brook, in a Pųkóbye
variant, from bottle gourds in a plantation; but in none of the other six episodes
of the myth do they in any way work for the benefit of humanity. Nevertheless the
[776] Rąmkō'kamekra regard themselves as primarily dependent on the Sun (Pųt) and
in much lesser degree also on the Moon (Pųduvrí).

The purpose of all the general cult performances is to invoke the heavenly
782 bodies to protect food plants and animals. These acts comprise prayers to the Sun
776 for rain (p. 62), for protection of game animals (p. 71), and on behalf of wild
796 fruits (p. 72); and to the Moon to prosper the crops when maize has grown to about
3 feet in height (p. 62).

On the other hand, there was no trace of religion at the maize-planting ceremony
789 (p. 62), nor was the hōčwá ceremony on behalf of the sweet-potato crop at all
527 related to Sun and Moon worship, though it does bear a magical significance
(p. 63).

During the entire period of my stay I witnessed only two instances of a person's
782 supplicating the Sun. The first time a young woman was praying for a child
776 (p. 130); the second time I heard a mother instructing her approximately seven-year-old son, who had been ill for a long time, to invoke the Sun as follows:
"Kédeti! Iymą̃ ampō'ño, vatoekũne iypey! (Grandfather! Give me a remedy so
that I'll recover!)" Further, I learnt that, when putting the mats soiled at the delivery into the fork of a steppe tree, the mother of a lying-in woman supplicates the
Sun, as stated (p. 106), to protect the newborn infant.

The prayers have no fixed text, the suppliant addressing the Sun spontaneously
as though conversing with an ordinary person. Thus some address him as pa'pám,
[787] Our Father; others as Kédeti, Grandfather. I have never heard of any Rąmkō'kamekra seeing Sun or Moon in dreams or visions.

There is little knowledge of the course of the heavenly bodies. Time is reckoned
821 by lunar phases and by seasons (rainy and dry). They do not know how many full
805 moons there are in a year, being handicapped by their aboriginal number system,
which does not go beyond four. They do not ponder the nature of the solar body.
They know approximately where the sun rises and sets during the wet and the dry
season, but they do not empirically determine the solstice or use it in time reckoning.

821 The younger age classes, regularly assembled in the plaza at sunset, always consider it fun to expect the appearance of the new moon, each youth vying with the
rest to discover it first. As soon as it is detected, everybody raises his hands and
utters piercing shouts "to give pleasure to the Moon."

821 The moon spots are explained in Rąmkō'kamekra myth (p. 244) and somewhat
differently by the Krẽyé of Bacabal.[illegible] No explanation was obtained for the lunar
phases.

796 A lunar eclipse is called pųduvrį hįtįk, that is, dying of the moon. In 1935 I witnessed one and went purposely to the plaza to sleep there. Since the sky was somewhat clouded, the Indians did not notice what was going on until the darkening

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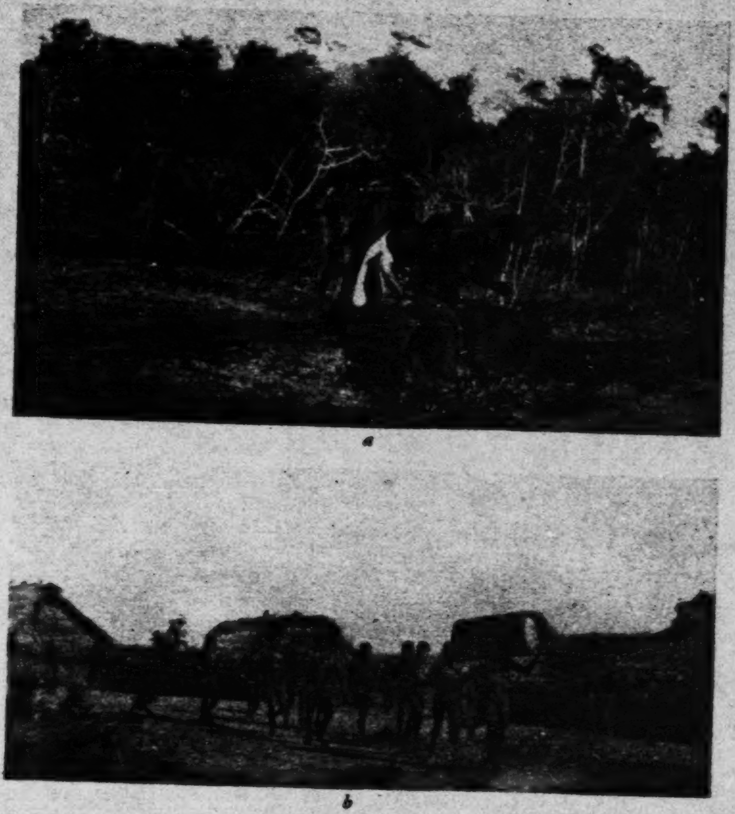
[illegible] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 158.

[illegible] Nimuendajú, Vokabular und Sagen der Crengêz.



PAINTING HAMKRÁN LOGS; LOG RACE AT POINT OF TURNING INTO BOULEVARD

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● 527
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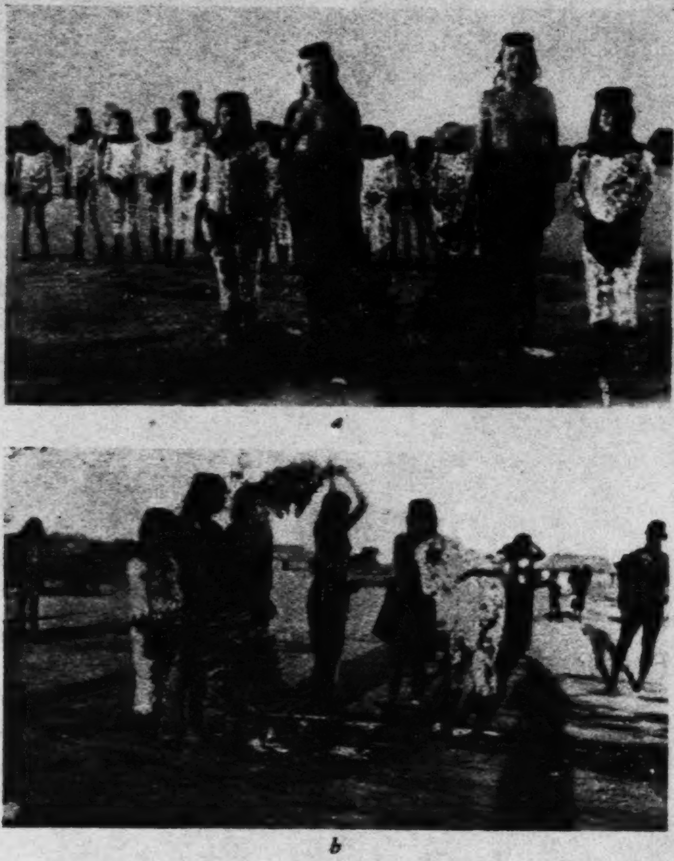

PĄRARE RACE OF KETÚAYE

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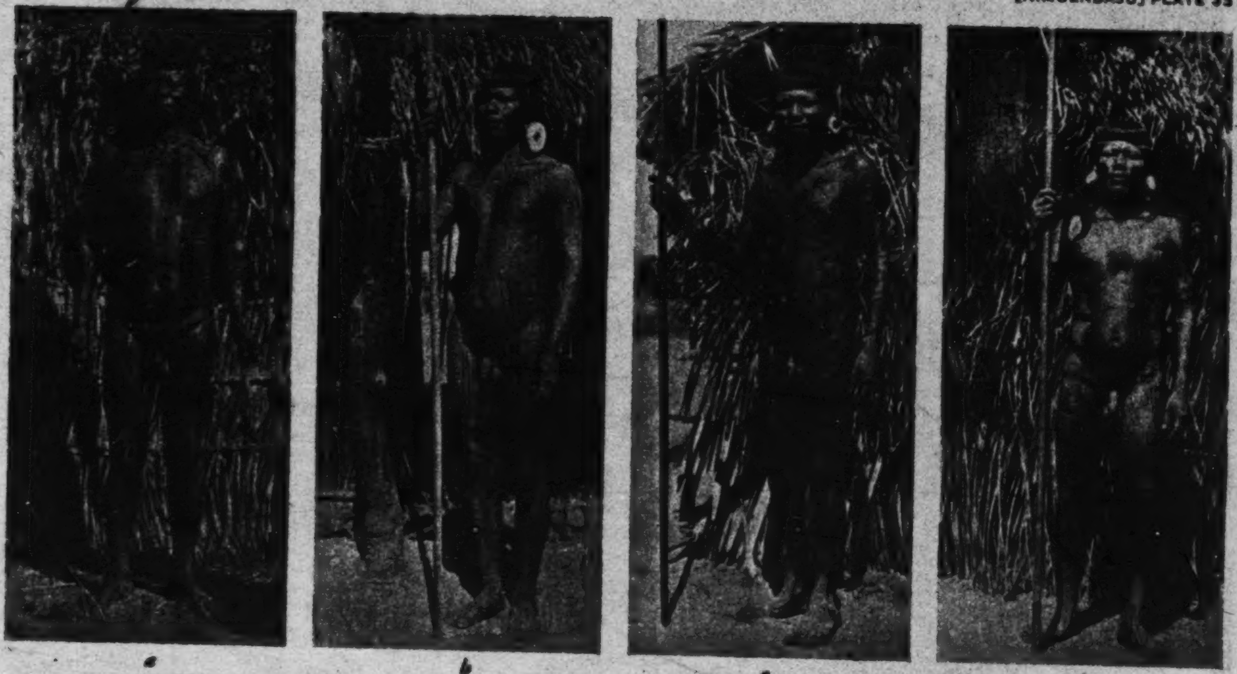

FIRST COMMANDANT; DEPUTY COMMANDANT; WESTERN AND EASTERN CLASS LEADERS

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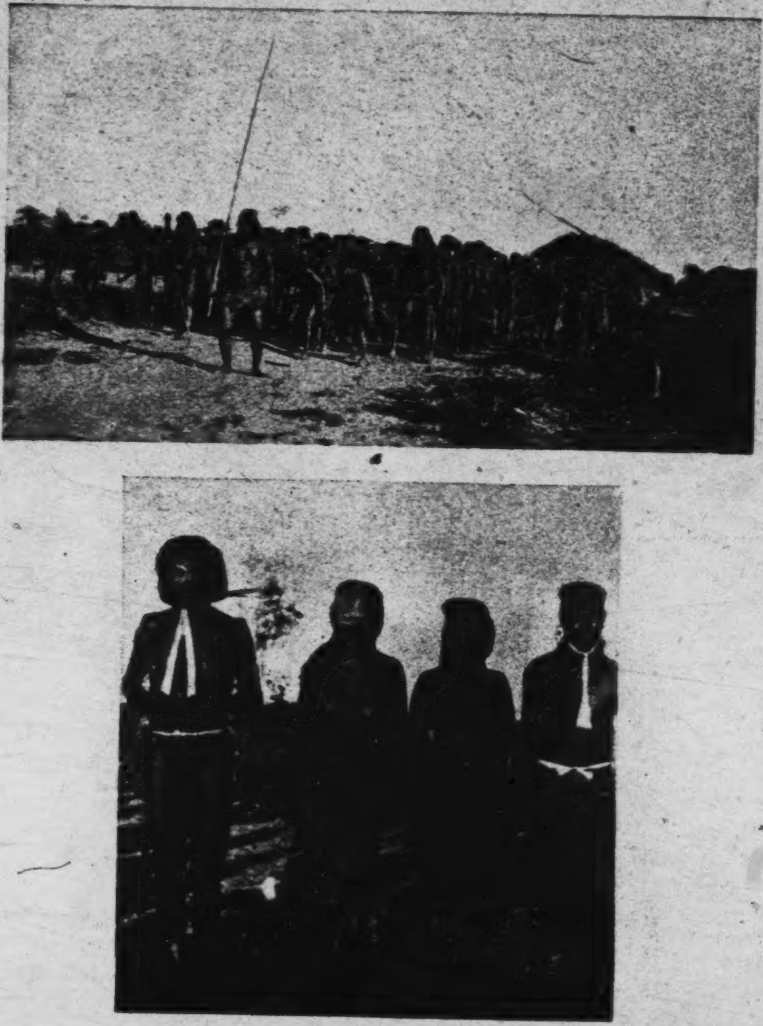

MOTHERS-IN-LAW LEADING SONS-IN-LAW; CLOWNS, MASKED AT PEPKAHĄ'K